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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

VOLUME VIII.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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ANTIQUITY.

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APPENDIX. 423

ARCHAE-

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

I. *A Sketch of the Hiſtory of the* Aſylum, *or* Sanctuary, *from its Origin to the final Abolition of it in the Reign of* James I. *By the Rev.* Samuel Pegge.

Read February 3, 1785.

To the Earl of LEICESTER.

MY LORD,

THE inſtitution propoſed for the ſubject of the following memoir, is of very ancient and even divine original: and as it has undergone, at times and in different countries, ſo many alterations and revolutions, and I may add ſuch horrible and ſcandalous abuſes, the hiſtory of its various fate and fortune may

may deſervedly become a proper object of enquiry and elucidation. The connection of the rite of ſanctuary with the civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this kingdom, and more eſpecially during the reign of popery amongſt us, makes it apply very ſtrongly to the views and purpoſes of the Society of Antiquaries. Although we are now happily delivered from the multifarious encroachments of popery in reſpect of the pretended claims and immunities of the church in this, as well as other matters, yet it may be well worth while to enquire into the nature and uſages of ſanctuary, as formerly practiſed amongſt us; partly, for the purpoſe of rightly underſtanding thoſe paſſages in authors where it happens to be mentioned; and partly, that we may more clearly ſee from what a fruitful ſource of outrage and diſorder we are freed by the laws of the land obtaining, in all caſes, their natural and uninterrupted courſe. It will appear, in the ſequel, from the opinions of Papiſts themſelves, that this inſtitution, as managed and conducted in modern times, was pregnant with an infinite deal of evil and miſchief; and well it might, when founded entirely in uſurpation, ſuperſtition, and, we may ſay, abſurdity; ſince no one can imagine upon any grounds, either of reaſon or religion, that God all-righteous ſhould ever countenance and encourage, by any privilege of his churches and altars, ſuch acts of villainy and immorality as this rite of ſanctuary was then made to do; or ſhould take the perſons of known and acknowledged criminals into his more immediate protection; I ſay *acknowledged criminals*, becauſe the very act of perſons betaking themſelves to ſanctuary always implied the commiſſion, and even the confeſſion, of their reſpective crimes.

Your Lordſhip will pleaſe here to recollect, that a finiſhed and complete Hiſtory of the Inſtitution is not intended, but a

ſketch;

ſketch; ſufficient, however, it is hoped, to afford a tolerable idea of a practice long ſince fallen into diſuſe here. Your Lordſhip will alſo perceive, that much uſe has been made of a digreſſion by Mr. Staveley on this ſubject [*a*], inſomuch that this paper may be conſidered as an enlargement of that piece, by the addition of certain curious particulars from the canon law, and Mr. Stowe's Survey of the City of London [*b*]. I have no doubt but my learned brethren of the Society, to whoſe ſuperior knowledge and more extenſive reading I willingly defer, may probably furniſh many other circumſtances and improvements, equally pertinent and entertaining, on the argument; and it is my ardent wiſh, that ſome one would be ſo good as to ſupply my deficiencies.

A ſanctuary, or aſylum [*c*], may be defined to be 'A place 'privileged by a ſovereign, whence, ſuch offenders, or debtors, 'as fled to it for protection, could not forcibly be taken with-'out ſacrilege and impiety [*d*].'

It has been pretended that Nimrod, on the loſs of his eldeſt ſon, was the firſt deviſer of the inſtitution [*e*], by erecting a golden image of him in his temple and palace, to which all that reſorted, though murderers, or guilty of other capital offences,

[*a*] Mr. Staveley, Hiſt. of Churches, p. 165.

[*b*] Mr. Strype's edition, 1754, 2 vol. fol.

[*c*] The privilege, or immunity, was called Ἀσυλία by the Greeks, and the Deity preſiding Θεὸς Ἀσυλαῖος. Plutarch, Romulus, p. 22, edit. Franc. 1599. What Deity that was, Dionyſius Hal. [lib. ii.] ſays, was uncertain, but the Authors of the Univ. Hiſt. vol. XI. p. 282. think he was probably Jupiter, though others ſay, *Deus Lycoreus*, Serv. ad Æn. II. 761. The particular Deity of the temple one would ſuppoſe ſhould be the Θεὸς Ἀσυλαῖος. The word Aſylum comes not from α and σύρω, traho, as ſome have fancied, but from α and σύλη. Staveley, p. 166. Hoſpin. de Templ. p. 77.

[*d*] Compare Stamford, Pleas of the Crown, II. p. 38.

[*e*] Gilbert Cognatus apud Hoſpin. p. 78.

ſhould be abſolved from their crimes. But we muſt not go ſo high, ſince even the Patriarchs, who were continually roving about, (and conſequently had no temples [*f*], nor places for any long abode), could not well have any *aſyla*. Whence it may fairly be concluded, that ſanctuary was no part of the Patriarchal religion, but was entirely unknown in the eaſt at that period; an obſervation which may be of ſome uſe to us hereafter.

But on the eſtabliſhment of the children of Iſrael in the Land of Promiſe, *Moſes*, in purſuance of that direction from God, 'If a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him [that is 'ſmitten] into his hand, then I will appoint thee a place whi-'ther he ſhall flee [*g*].' *Moſes*, I ſay, upon this, appointed for the Iſraelites ſix cities of refuge, (three on one ſide of Jordan, and three on the other), out of thoſe forty-eight cities allotted to the Levites [*h*]. The *aſyla* being thus ſelected out of the Levitical cities apparently gave them ſome ſlight connection with religion, though there were neither temples nor altars; and ſtatues there could not be; the alliance, however, became much more viſible, when afterwards the Temple of Solomon, and particularly the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, obtained the like privilege [*i*]. The intention here was, as we learn from the

[*f*] Dr. Stukeley, indeed, thinks the Druids, who, as he ſuppoſes, derived their religion from the Patriarchs, had temples of like ſtructure as our Cathedrals; Archaeologia I. p. 40. Itin. Cur. part ii. p. 13, but few, I believe, will concur with him in that notion.

[*g*] Exodus xxi. 13.

[*h*] Numbers xxxv. 6. Deut. xix. 4. ſeq. Three more were to be aſſigned, when their borders were enlarged. Deut. xix. 1. ſeq. and this, it muſt be owned, was a moſt ſalutary proviſion; that the manſlayer might not have too far to go, or run too much hazard, before he arrived at a place of ſafety.

[*i*] The ſlayer, reſorting to the temple, was brought ſooner to trial. If found guilty of murder, he was forced away even from the altar, and put to death; if innocent, he was conducted to ſome city of refuge. Calmet, Dict. v. *Refuge* and *Aſylum*.

Lawgiver

Lawgiver himſelf, that the manſlayer (not the murderer from malice prepence, for he was aſſuredly to die [*k*]), who by miſfortune and accident ſhould happen to kill a perſon, might have a place of ſecurity to flee unto [*l*]; that the unfortunate man, overwhelmed with grief, as well may be, for the calamitous diſaſter, ſhould not raſhly be put to death by an avenger, ſome hotheaded and exaſperated relative of the party ſo unhappily ſlain, but brought to a cool and impartial trial [*m*]. All this was done to prevent the ill effects of that vindictive ſpirit ſo predominant in man, by which he would be too apt to judge and puniſh from his own furious and paſſionate reſentment, though the Almighty had even then declared [*n*], that vengeance properly belonged to him. The principle proceeded upon was evidently that of mercy and compaſſion, ſuch as might well become the divine Author of the Inſtitution. Every thing here, your Lordſhip obſerves, was moſt wiſe and juſt, the neceſſary and eſſential diſtinction between manſlaughter and murder being effectually and moſt reaſonably preſerved. I have only given the outline of the Iſraelitiſh, or Moſaical, ſyſtem, for the ſake of brevity; and yet nothing needs be added to it, but that acceſs to the refugial cities was to be made eaſy [*o*], the ſanctuary man was not to ſtir out of his limits [*p*], but to remain in his city till the death of the high prieſt [*q*].

The *Greeks* appear, at firſt, to have purſued the like rational method of proceeding, *Plutarch* teſtifying, that the oratory of

[*k*] Numb. xxxv. 16. 35. Deut. xix. 3. 11. Exod. xxi. 12. 14.
[*l*] Numb. xxxv. 11. 22. ſeq. Deut. xix. 4. ſeq. Joſh. xx. 3.
[*m*] Numb. xxx. 12. Deut. xix. 6. Joſh. xx. 6. 9.
[*n*] Deut. xxxii. 35.
[*o*] Deut. xix. 3.
[*p*] Numb. xxxv. 26.
[*q*] Numb. xxxv. 25. Joſh. xx. 6.

Theſeus was a place of refuge for ſervants, and perſons of mean condition, who fled from the powerful and oppreſſive [*r*]. But they ſoon confounded and perverted every thing, making no difference between caſualties and premeditated acts of violence, but opening their *aſyla* indiſcriminately to refuges of all kinds. They ſeem to have had no thought or intention, though this was a moſt material and eſſential point of view, of bringing notorious criminals to trial, but ſuffered them to continue in the franchiſe, quite eaſy and unmoleſted, as long as they pleaſed; by which means, they made their Deities, from whom their holy places, temples, altars, and ſtatues, derived all their ſanctity, the direct patrons and abettors of the moſt ſhocking, the moſt abominable vices and crimes [*s*]. The *Grecian* ſanctuaries, though ſo exceptionable and faulty in their frame and conſtitution, were nevertheleſs very ancient [*t*], numerous [*u*], and diſſeminated into various parts [*w*]; the privilege alſo extended ſometimes to a diſtance from the building [*x*], as it often did here in England; but, generally ſpeaking, it was thought ſafeſt to touch, or to have connection with, the tutelary image [*y*]. The *Greeks* did not often violate the ſanctuary by dragging malefactors with force and violence from it, or aſ-

[*r*] Plutarch, *Theſeus* verſus finem.

[*s*] Tacitus, Annal. III. 60.

[*t*] That of Cadmus at Thebes, Alex. ab Alexandro III. c. 20. that of the Heraclidæ at Athens, Serv. ad Æn. II. 761. VIII. 342.

[*u*] Staveley, p. 167. Calmet, Dict. v. Aſylum.

[*w*] I take the liberty of adding here, that there was an aſylum at Troy, Serv. ad Æn. II. 761, and that *Hercules Ægyptius* had another in that country for ſervants or ſlaves. Herodot. Euterpe, c. 113.

[*x*] Hoſpinian, p. 80.

[*y*] See the Story of *Cylon* in Univ. Hiſt. vol. VI. p. 295. edit. 8°.

faulting them in it [*z*]; *Alexander* directed *Megabyzus* to draw and entice a ſlave from his aſylum, if poſſible, and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple [*a*]. But, nevertheleſs, they would infringe the privilege on occaſion, as we learn from the inſinuation of Demoſthenes, in regard to himſelf when he had taken ſanctuary, that *Antipater* and the Macedonians would not ſcruple to profane it with murder [*b*]. They would contrive again to render the *refugium* of no benefit to the party by ſtarving him, unroofing the building, or firing it, obliging him by ſuch means to deſert his ſituation and come out [*c*]. Such, in general, was the ſtate of affairs in Greece, till *Auguſtus* aboliſhed the aſylum at *Epheſus*, and the emperor *Tiberius*, remarking the miſchievous effects of ſanctuaries eſtabliſhed upon ſo bad a model, and the intolerable licentiouſneſs occaſioned by them, put an end to them, as Suetonius ſays, *every where* [*d*]. Tacitus, however, expreſſes the tranſaction differently, teſtifying, that he only regulated them [*e*]. *Jac. Perizonius*, in his Lectures on *Turſellinus*, informs us, that Tiberius cited the Grecian cities, enquired whence they had their ſeveral rights, and taking away the privilege from many, left it only to the more ancient [*f*]. Be it as it will; his reformation appears to have had but little effect [*g*]. Your Lordſhip ſees, that in the climate of Greece the nature of the inſti-

[*z*] There are, however, ſome inſtances of this in Potter's Antiq. of Greece, I. p. 199. and Univ. Hiſt. VI. p. 296.

[*a*] Plutarch. *Alexander*, p. 689.

[*b*] Idem. *Demoſthenes*, verſus finem.

[*c*] Potter, Antiq. l. c. Corn. Nepos, *Pauſanias*, c. 5.

[*d*] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, c. 37.

[*e*] Tacitus, Annal. III. c. 63.

[*f*] MS. penes me on Turſellinus, lib. ii. p. 285.

[*g*] Vide Pitiſc. ad Sueton. l. c.

tution

tution was quite altered: in *Judea* it ſprang from a motive of tenderneſs towards innocent men; whereas in *Greece* it proceeded from a blind reverence and devotion to the ſacredneſs of the place of refuge, and the deity, or hero, ſuppoſed to preſide over it.

The Romans, ever imitative of the cuſtoms and practices of the neighbouring nations in matters of religion, appear to have followed in the preſent inſtance the depraved and corrupt ſyſtem of the Greeks. *Evander* was a Greek of *Arcadia*, and *Æneas* came from *Troy*, where *Juno*, one of Romulus's goddeſſes, had an aſylum [*b*], if that be not a *prolepſis*. When therefore the great founder of Rome had formed in his mind that obvious ſtroke of policy, the proclaiming an aſylum [*i*], for the purpoſe of filling his empty and newly-erected city with inhabitants [*k*], what plan was he more likely to adopt than that delivered down to him by his princely predeceſſors, *Evander* and *Æneas*, which included all ſubjects, even the vileſt and the worſt of men? *Servius*, and the Scholiaſt on *Juvenal*, ſay expreſsly, that he embraced the model of the aſylum at *Athens*, which comes to the ſame thing [*l*], as has been ſhewn above. *Livy*, indeed, ſpeaks very tenderly and favourably of this buſineſs, as he well may be expected to do, only ſaying, no regard was had to the *condition* of the refugés, but that all were admitted whether *bond or free* [*m*], and ſo *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* ‘ tum ‘ vero

[*b*] Æn. II. 761. et Servius ad loc.

[*i*] Staveley ſpeaks of *aſyla* at Rome; but qu. whether there was any other than this one inſtituted by Romulus?

[*k*] That of Cadmus at Thebes was probably deviſed for the ſame purpoſe; Livy therefore properly ſtiles Romulus' project, *vetus conſilium*.

[*l*] Servius, ad Æn. VIII. 432.

[*m*] The words are ‘ Ne *vana* urbis magnitudo eſſet, adjiciendæ multitudinis ‘ causâ, *vetere conſilio* condentium urbes, qui *obſcuram atque humilem* conciendo ‘ ad

'vero iſtuc confluebatur, domeſticorum malorum tædio [*n*],' as if only ſlaves oppreſſed by their maſters had reſorted thither. Others, however, ſpeak more freely, and no doubt more truly, namely, that the aſylum was open to the moſt abandoned and profligate. *Juvenal* calls it *infame aſylum*, and reproaches his Romans with their baſe and ignoble deſcent from it [*o*]; and *Lactantius* ſcruples not to ſay, the individuals were *peſſimi quique* [*p*]. *Plutarch* alſo declares, that all fugitives were received; that they would neither 'deliver up the ſlave to his maſter, the 'debtor to his creditor, nor the *murderer* to the magiſtrate [*q*].' There is no occaſion to multiply authorities, ſince *Servius*, as we have ſeen, acknowledges, that this conſtitution was the ſame as that at *Athens*.

But were not matters, it may be aſked, put on a better and more rational footing, after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in the empire? I anſwer, not at all. The Chriſtian emperors, from whom one might expect the beſt, were ſo far from ſuppreſſing the old ſanctuaries, and their degenerate modes, that they did all they could to increaſe the number of them, by transferring all the privileges and immunities of the Heathen temples, though ſo hurtful to the community, unto the Chriſtian churches [*r*]; and this, from a miſtaken and ill-judged veneration for their fabrics and altars [*s*], and the ſaints, to whom

'ad ſe multitudinem, natam e terra ſibi prolem ementiebantur . . . . aſylum 'aperit.' Livy, I. c. 8. where, if I be not miſtaken, we ſhould read *vacua* for *vana*. See alſo L. Florus, I. 1. 9. Aurel. Victor, c. 2.

[*n*] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. ii.

[*o*] Juvenal. VIII. 273.

[*p*] Lactantius, II. c. 6.

[*q*] Plutarch. *Romulus*, p. 22. & *de Superſtit.* p. 166. & Univ. Hiſt. XI. p. 281.

[*r*] Hoſpinian, p. 79. Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Sanctuarium.

[*s*] Hoſpin. l. c. Staveley, p. 165. 168. 170.

they were reſpectively ſacred. *Boniface* V. who acceded A.D. 609, ſenſible that great advantages would ariſe from the inſtitution ſo modified for the aggrandiſement of the church and the increaſe of its power, authorized and confirmed all ſanctuaries in general, about the year 633, ordaining, as we have it in *Platina*, 'That criminals who fled to churches [*t*], ſhould not be 'taken thence by force [*u*],' or as *Sigebert* ſpeaks, ſtill plainer and more fully, 'Aras et eccleſias eſſe reis aſyla, ita ut fugiens 'aliquis, *quovis crimine patrato*, ad ſacras ædes, violenter inde 'non abſtrahatur [*w*],' inſomuch that this pope is commonly reputed the founder of that peſtilent mode of ſanctuary, which afterwards prevailed ſo generally in the weſt. Though the induſtrious *Hoſpinian* has collected ſome few inſtances of it, which are prior to that period [*x*].

I beg leave, my Lord, to make an obſervation or two in this plan, for the further clearing and illuſtrating the ſubject.

I have termed *Boniface's* mode of ſanctuary *peſtilent*, becauſe inſtead of recurring, as one would expect from his Holineſs, to the laudable and rational ſyſtem of the Hebrews, he embraced and patronized the very worſt corruptions of the Greeks and Romans. This beſt ſerved his turn; and certainly through his ambitious and intereſted views the churches became ſo many dens of thieves, traytors, murderers, parricides, in a word, of all kinds of villains [*y*]. What is worſe, the extenſion of the rite, as at this time eſtabliſhed, opened a door, through the encouragement it gave to evil-minded men, by a ſure and certain proſpect of preſent ſecurity, to the commiſſion of all ſorts of

[*t*] See this explained in the following page.
[*u*] Platina. p. 106. Rycaut's tranſlation.
[*w*] Sigebert. Gemblac.
[*x*] Hoſpin. p. 79.
[*y*] Stowe, Survey, I. p. 608. edit. Strype.

wickedneſs.

wickedneſs. Of this the Papiſts themſelves, *Giraldus Cambrenſis* [*z*], *Polydore Vergil* [*a*], and the council of *Cologne* [*b*], to name no other authorities, have long ſince complained. And it was upon this ground, as may be preſumed, that the Pontif *Sixtus Quintus*, as I learn from *Perizonius* [*c*], ſuppreſſed all the ſanctuaries at Rome. This now is of conſequence; for, as we find in Dr. *Smollet*, the ſame unlimited uſe of ſanctuary prevails in *Italy* at this day [*d*]: 'I need not enlarge, ſays he, on the 'pernicious conſequences of this infamous prerogative, calcu-'lated to raiſe and extend the power and influence of the Ro-'man church, on the ruins of morality and good order. I ſaw 'a fellow, who three days before had murdered his wife in the 'laſt month of pregnancy, taking the air with great compo-'ſure and ſerenity on the ſteps of a church in *Florence*; and 'nothing is more common, than to ſee the moſt execrable vil-'lains diverting themſelves in the cloiſters of ſome convents at 'Rome [*e*].'

The Proteſtants in general inveigh againſt and condemn the uſe of indiſcriminate ſanctuary, as an incitement to every evil work [*f*], but I ſhall only adduce the words of the excellent *Perizonius*; who ſpeaking of the act of Pope *Boniface*, ſays, 'Invaleſcebat jam magis magiſque epiſcoporum ſuperbia, et hinc 'etiam ipſius vitæ neciſque jus deſiderabant, ac proin hoc '[aſylum] inſtituebant, quod profectò peſſimum erat; ſic enim

[*z*] Girald. Cambr. p. 891. edit. 1603.

[*a*] Polyd. Verg. de Rerum Invent. III. c. 12.

[*b*] Apud Hoſpin. p. 81.

[*c*] MS. Notes, ut ſupra, tom. iii. p. 526. This particular is not mentioned by Sir P. Rycaut.

[*d*] See alſo the caſe at *Malta* this very year, 1784. Lloyd's Evening Poſt, Oct. 6.

[*e*] Smollet, Travels, p. 279.

[*f*] Salmuth ad Panciroll. p. 118.

'*ad omnia ſcelera ac flagitia aperiebatur feneſtra:* quod ipſi Gen-
'tiles ſcientes ſub Tiberio, Tacito teſte, Aſyla ſuſtulêre [*g*].'

2dly, It is ſaid above, that the emperors and *Boniface* inveſted *the churches* with the right of ſanctuary; by which *Polydore Vergil* underſtood *all churches* [*h*], and *Perizonius* juſtly adds, *monaſteries*. And this is true as to *conſecrated* churches; but oratories and private chapels enjoyed no privilege [*i*]. *Linwood* intimates, the privileged churches to be ſuch as had been erected by ſome pope, archbiſhop, or biſhop [*k*], which could not fail of obtaining conſecration.

A difference was alſo made between churches, in reſpect of conſequence and reputation, of greater or leſs ſanctity [*l*]. By the laws of *William* the Conqueror, whoſoever, in after-times, took a perſon from an abbey, or church of religion [*m*], was to forfeit one hundred ſhillings, and reſtore the perſon; if from a pariſh church, twenty ſhillings; and if from a chapel, ten ſhillings [*n*]. It is alſo ſaid, that ſanctuary-men might go thirty paces from the church; and forty, if a cathedral [*o*]. Of the diſtance ſomething more may be ſaid hereafter.

But now, though all conſecrated churches in general were poſſeſſed of the franchiſe of protecting criminals, yet theſe did not often reſort to inferior or pariſh churches, and for this ob-

[*g*] MS. Notes, ut ſupra, et l. c.

[*h*] Polyd. Vergil, III. c. 12. and ſee Hoſpin. p. 78.

[*i*] Linwood, p. 256.

[*k*] Idem, ibid.

[*l*] Mr. Johnſon, in Collection of Canons on archbiſhop Boniface's Conſtit. 1261, art. 8.

[*m*] *Eccleſia religionis*; meaning, we may ſuppoſe, a monaſtical church.

[*n*] Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 313. By chapel muſt be meant a chapel of eaſe, not a private oratory.

[*o*] Mr. Johnſon, l. c.

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vious reaſon; they could not ſo well be accommodated there, ſo comfortably maintained, nor ſo powerfully protected; for the clergyman, who was often but little able, was obliged to ſupport his refugés [*p*]; and, as we are told, they were not only to be ſupplied with victuals, but with raiment, habitation, ſhoes, &c. *ſine quibus corpus ali non poteſt* [*q*]. The friends and relations of the ſanctuary-man, however, would often be ſending in victuals for his uſe; but in this they were ſometimes obſtructed [*r*].

3dly, It has been repreſented above, that the Chriſtian Emperors firſt indulged *the churches* with their franchiſes and immunities, in regard to ſanctuary, and that Pope *Boniface* ſeconded and confirmed them. Certain authors hereupon, attached to the papacy and zealous for its honour and credit, ſuch as *Sigebertus Gemblacenſis*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Platina*, and *Albertus Crantzius*, have overlooked the emperors, and, as if there could be any merit in introducing an inſtitution of ſuch an inauſpicious complexion, have aſcribed it to the pope. But the emperors nevertheleſs, like *Romulus*, firſt brought it forth, though the prelates, after *Boniface* had given it his ſanction, took it up and nouriſhed it. Indeed, they aſſumed afterwards the principal conduct and management of it, under their reſpective ſovereigns, and would be ſo ſtrenuous in aſſerting the rights of holy church ſometimes, as to oppoſe and withſtand their princes, in certain caſes [*s*], though both the church's power and theirs were originally derived from them.

[*p*] Mr. Johnſon ad archbiſhop Boniface, l. c.

[*q*] Linwood, p. 255. Pat. Sanderſon, Hiſt. of Durham Abbey, p. 44.

[*r*] Archbiſhop Boniface, l. c. Ottobon. art. 12. The obſtruction aroſe from the evil intention of the proſecutor, deſirous of making the abode of the refugé as hard and inſupportable to him as he could.

[*s*] Vide infra, Caſe of Hauley, and of Hubert de Burgh, p. 41. See alſo Strype, Memorials, III. 353, relative to a paſſage in the reign of queen Mary.

Again:

Again: As the privileges iſſued firſt from the ſovereigns, ſo were they ſubject to regulations from time to time by them. Monſ. *Gaillard* of the Academy writes, 'All churches before 'the time of *Charlemagne* were *aſyla*, and for all ſorts of crimi-'nals; but he, by a capitular, A. D. 779, conformable to one of '*Carloman* and *Pepin* paſſed about 744, decreed, that churches 'ſhould not be aſyla for criminals who had committed ſuch 'crimes as the law puniſhed with death: and if he did not go 'ſo far as to make it lawful to force a criminal from his aſy-'lum, yet, what came to the ſame thing, he prohibited people 'from giving them any nouriſhment [*t*].' Many inſtances of the like infractions of ſanctuary occur in the Conſtantinopolitan Hiſtory. This gentleman then reports the caſe of a clerk impriſoned by a biſhop for a crime, and who, eſcaping, took refuge in a convent. The biſhop claimed his fugitive, but the convent refuſed to deliver him. *Charlemagne*, however, on hearing the cauſe, gave ſentence in favour of the biſhop.

We may depend upon it, that the ſource of the immunity was the will and pleaſure of the ſovereign, notwithſtanding the pretenſions of Pope *Boniface*, or the hiſtorians, or the prelates and clergy afterwards. We ſhall ſee many clear evidences of this below, when we come to ſpeak of affairs here at home; and therefore, following the example of Sir William *Stamford*, I have inſerted it in the definition [*u*]. *Henry de Knyghton*, indeed, pretends, that the privilege of ſanctuary is *naturally* inherent in the church, and that it was, *inter alia*, one of thoſe rights for which *Becket* ſuffered. After ſtating how regardleſs

[*t*] Monſ. *Gaillard*, Hiſt. de Charlemagne, tom. iii. p. 80.

[*u*] See Mr. Staveley, p. 170. 172. So when king John founded the abbey of Beaulieu, he endowed it with ſanctuary, Rapin, I. p. 263. See alſo Stowe, Survey, II. p. 614, Ed. Strype.

and irreverent *Henry* II. was, in regard to this rite [*w*], he proceeds to ſay, 'Et *pro hac eccleſiæ cauſa*, et aliis quæ in vita 'beatiſſimi *Thomæ* Cantuarienſis plenius recitantur, idem pa-'tienter mortem ſuſtinuit, ut vitalem deinceps et debitam re-'verentiam univerſali ſanctæ matri eccleſiæ Anglicanæ perpe-'tue redderet.' This, however, is not true. By the 14th Article, indeed, of the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, 'The chat-'tels of thoſe who are under forfeiture to the king ought not 'to be detained in any church, or church-yard, againſt the juſ-'ticiary; becauſe they belong to the king, whether they are 'found within churches or without [*x*].' The pope actually admitted this article [*y*]; and the king, with reaſon and juſtice, only claims the goods which were his own by forfeiture. Nothing is ſaid of the *perſons* either of clergy or laity being forced from ſanctuary; nor do I find *Becket* inſiſting upon any ſuch matter in lord *Lyttelton's* diffuſe and very accurate relation of his caſe. Inſomuch that it never can be ſaid, that *Becket*, in any reſpect, ſuffered in defence of the rite of ſanctuary, nor that the rite itſelf, from any ſuch weak proof as the ill-founded notions of a partial and bigoted hiſtorian, was derived from any power independent of the crown.

[*w*] 'Hujus Henrici tempore nullus latro neque raptor, homicida, vel qualif-'cunque ſceleratus gaudere potuit privilegio immunitatis ſanctæ eccleſiæ, neque 'clericus nec ſacerdos, quin eos ab eccleſia eriperet, et judicio regni aſtare co-'geret ſecundum eorum delicti quantitatem puniendos, nullam ferens ſanctæ 'eccleſiæ in hac parte reverentiam.' H. de Knyghton, apud X Script. col. 2400.

[*x*] Lord Lyttelton, Life of Henry II. vol. IV. p. 418.

[*y*] Ibid. p. 84.

PART

PART II.

AFTER taking a general view of ſanctuary as in uſe anciently and abroad, we come now, my Lord, to conſider and examine how matters were carried here in our own iſland.

Druidiſm is thought by many to be derived, though not without perverſions and corruptions, from the patriarchal religion [*a*]; but then of this, as was obſerved above, the rite of ſanctuary was no part. Groves and trees were anciently very venerable and ſacred things, not only as places of worſhip, but alſo as themſelves objects of adoration amongſt idolatrous nations [*b*]. Mr. Evelyn alſo has ſhewn, that ſuch trees actually obtained an immunity, and grew to be *aſyla* amongſt them [*c*]; but that this was any practice of the *Druids* does not at preſent appear; indeed, we hear nothing of ſanctuary of any kind in *Wales*, till long after the introduction of Chriſtianity into that country [*d*]. *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth* tells us, that *Dunwallo Molmutius*, who reigned near five hundred years before Chriſt [*e*], at a time when Druidiſm was the prevailing religion, 'eſta-'bliſhed thoſe which the Britains call the *Molmutine* laws, 'famous among the Engliſh to this day. In theſe, among 'other things he enacted, that the temples of the gods, as alſo

[*a*] Dr. Stukeley, Itin. part ii. p. 13. Rowland, Mona antiqua, p. 55, ſeq.

[*b*] Hamilton, Voyage, p. 311. Max. Tyrius, Diſſert. III. § 8. and Dr. Davies on the place. Stillingfleet, Antiq. of Lon. p. 474. 546. Boſman, p. 349. 362. Dickinſon, p. 192.

[*c*] Evelyn, Sylva. p. 614.

[*d*] Vide infra.

[*e*] Spelm. Gloſſ. p. 362. & Selden on *Drayton*, XVI. p. 317.

'cities, ſhould have the privilege of giving ſanctuary and protection to *any fugitive or criminal* that ſhould fly to them 'from his enemy. He likewiſe enacted, that the ways leading to thoſe temples and cities, as alſo the huſbandman's 'plows, ſhould be allowed the ſame privilege [*f*].' When *Jeffrey*, I ſay, writes thus, one cannot poſſibly give him credit. I am one amongſt thoſe who think *Jeffrey* not to have been the author of the Britiſh Hiſtory, but only the tranſlator, and perhaps the interpolator, of it; but as to this famous paſſage, though many later authors, I obſerve, have received it without ſcruple [*g*], it appears to me to be perfectly inadmiſſable. The *Britains*, in my apprehenſion, ploughed little, and had no cities, at that æra. But did not *Brute*, it may be alledged, come from *Troy*, where *Juno* had an aſylum? I reply, that the arrival of *Brute* in this iſland is itſelf very diſputable, as reſting ſolely on the ſuſpicious credit of the Britiſh Hiſtory; and as to *Juno's* aſylum at *Troy*, that, as has been before conjectured [*h*], may poſſibly be a *prolepſis*. But do not authors tell us [*i*], that *Ælfred the Great* aſſumed theſe *Molmutian* laws into his code? And is not this what *Jeffrey* means, by ſaying, the laws of *Molmutius* were *famous among the Engliſh to this day?* I anſwer, Sir *John Spelman* has ſhewn, that this is not fact [*k*]; and it is a

[*f*] Jeffrey of Monm. II. c. 17.

[*g*] Matth. Weſtm. p. 29. Alured. Beverl. p. 15. Higden. III. p. 214. Brompton col. 956. Rudborne, in Angl. Sacr. p. 182. Harding, Chron. fol. cxi. 6. Sheringham, p. 125, and many others. But theſe, who are more modern authors, might be eaſily miſled by Jeffrey.

[*h*] P. 8.

[*i*] See many of thoſe writers cited in Note [*g*].

[*k*] Spelm. Life of Ælfred, p. 96. Mr. Hearne, indeed, endeavours to invalidate the arguments there uſed, but does it in a very weak and unſatisfactory manner. Ælfred does not ſo much as mention the Molmutian laws. V. Sir Henry Spelman in Gloſſ. p. 362; and Mr. William Clarke, in his excellent Preface to the Welch Laws.

ſtrong preſumption againſt it, that *Molmutius* appears to have followed the *Grecian* plan, according to the fiction of the Britiſh Hiſtory; whereas king *Ælfred*, as we ſhall preſently ſee, framed his conſtitution reſpecting this matter upon the ſyſtem of *Moſes* [*k*]. To diſmiſs this buſineſs of *Molmutius*, who in all probability neither wrote nor dictated any laws at all [*l*]; *Jeffrey* pretends, that in his days, and by this meaſure, 'the murders 'and cruelties committed by robbers were prevented, and every 'body paſſed ſafe without any violence offered him [*m*]:' a falſe and moſt irrational inference; ſince ſanctuaries, upon this prince's model, are not calculated to prevent, but to promote and encourage every outrageous and villainous act, as has been ſhewn above [*n*]. Indeed, one can ſcarcely imagine any thing more likely to generate vice and immorality, except the pernicious doctrines of prieſtly abſolution, the doing evil if good do but come of it, and the compenſation of evil by what were called *good works*, ſuch as the founding of monaſteries, hoſpitals, &c.

The Chriſtian king *Lucius*, who flouriſhed about A. D. 180, is ſaid, by *Thomas Rudborne* [*o*], to have conferred upon the church of *Winchęſter* founded by him all the foregoing privileges of *Molmutius*, but with no greater appearance of truth [*p*], ſince, as this fact depends upon the former, it muſt neceſſarily fall with it. Wherefore I ſhall make no other obſervation upon

[*k*] The Molmutine laws were Pagan, not Chriſtian, as Ælfred's are. Sheringham, p. 125.

[*l*] Clarke, Præf. ad Leges Wallicas.

[*m*] Rudborne ſays the ſame, p. 182.

[*n*] Page 10, 11.

[*o*] See alſo Selden on Drayton, Song 16. Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 181.

[*p*] Matth. Weſtm. ſays, p. 60, that Lucius indulged all churches and their cemeteries with the privilege of ſanctuary.

Rudborne's

Rudborne's ſtory, than that he is ſo far right as to deduce the privileges of *Wincheſter* from a probable original, the authority of a crowned head, and not of a pope of *Rome*.

Sebert, the firſt Chriſtian king of *Eſſex*, who began to reign A. D. 604, and died A. D. 616, granted to his church of *Weſtminſter* the great privilege of ſanctuary, according to Mr. *Stowe* [*q*]. This, however, muſt be all a fiction; ſince the churches of the Weſt did not enjoy any ſuch privilege at that time [*r*]; and Mr. *Widmore* will not permit us to believe that this prince ever erected a church at *Weſtminſter* [*s*].

To go then upon ſomething better aſſured: *Ina*, king of *Weſſex*, about A. D. 690, enacts, that 'if a perſon who has 'committed a capital offence ſhall fly to a church, he ſhall pre-'ſerve his life, and make ſatisfaction according as right re-'quires. If any one deſerving of ſtripes ſhall fly to a church, 'the puniſhment ſhall be forgiven him [*t*].' Churches being thus appointed and made aſyla, an evident connection of the rite of ſanctuary with religion was created, and the connection afforded a very obvious handle for the clergy afterwards to interfere. The fugitive, however, was only to be protected againſt the raſhneſs and fury of his avenger, for he was ſtill liable to make recompence; and this is conſonant to the decree of the council of *Mentz*, A. D. 813, 'Reum confugientem ad 'eccleſiam nemo abſtrahere audeat, nec inde donare ad pœnam 'vel ad mortem, ut honor Dei et ſanctorum ejus conſervetur, 'ſed rectores eccleſiarum pacem et vitam ac membra ejus obti-'nere ſtudeant: tamen *legitime componat quod inique fecit* [*u*]."

[*q*] Stowe, Survey, II. p. 614. edit. Strype.
[*r*] See above, p. 11.
[*s*] Widmore, Enq. into the foundation of Weſtm. Abbey, Lond. 1743, 4°.
[*t*] Wilkins, Legg. Sax. p. 15.
[*u*] Hoſpinian, p. 80.

Ælfred *the Great* aſcended the throne A. D. 872, and has inſerted in the preamble to his laws the words of Moſes, 'Si quis 'ſponte hominem occiderit, moriatur morte. Si eum autem 'coactus occiderit, vel invitus, . . . ſit dignus privilegio ſuo, 'et juſta gentium compenſatione, ſi aſylum quæret, &c. [*w*]." The king had been at Rome, but he either did not obſerve, being then young, or reprobated, the practices he ſaw there, for it is evidently a Chriſtian, and not a Pagan or popiſh inſtitution. In the ſecond chapter of his laws he purſues the ſame ſenſible plan, ordaining, 'Si quis ad eccleſiæ manſionem *pro* '*qualicunque culpa* confugiat . . . . habeat *trium dierum termi*-'*num* ſe ibi abſcondendi, niſi reconciliari voluerit.' The term, however, was enlarged to nine days by king Athelſtan for thieves and robbers [*x*]; and again to nine or more, by king Ethelred, if the king pleaſed [*y*]; thirty-ſeven days at Durham [*z*]; forty days, 1 Edw. VI. [*a*]; and a year at Rippon [*b*]: but ſtill it was for the purpoſe of giving the culprit time to effect a reconciliation; and though the immunity extended to all ſorts of crimes, in which, as we are to ſuppoſe, even murder was included, yet this, inconſiſtent as it was with the text in Exodus, where the *murderer was ſurely to be put to death*, was agreeable nevertheleſs to the ideas and cuſtoms of the Saxons; the *Weregild*, as they called it, being with them a pecuniary recompence for *all crimes*, and for murder amongſt the reſt. It

[*w*] Exod. xxi. 12, 13, 14. Wilkins, Legg. Sax. p. 29, the word for aſylum is ꝼꞃiðꝼꞅꞇoꝑe, or as it is alſo called ꝼꞃiðꝼꞅꞇol. Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Fridſtoll. The latter accords beſt with *ſedes* or *cathedra pacis*.

[*x*] Wilkins, p. 34.

[*y*] Ibid. p. 15 and 110.

[*z*] Wharton, Angl. Sacr. p. 699. Sim. Dunelm. p. 121. Ed. Bedford.

[*a*] Staveley, p. 176.

[*b*] Drake, p. xci of Appendix.

was

was very abſurd, it is true; but it was much more ſo, to allow of ſanctuary for murderers, after the *weregild* was aboliſhed. This however was done without ſcruple [*c*]; and therein our anceſtors, as Polydore Vergil well obſerves [*d*], imitated not *Moſes*, but *Romulus*.

King Athelſtan became maſter of the city of York A. D. 937 [*e*]; and at that time, St. John of Beverley, who died A. D. 721, and was buried in the porch of Beverley-minſter, was a ſaint of great eminence there, and in the higheſt eſtimation with this prince [*f*]. Athelſtan, therefore, is thought to be the perſon, who, from an extraordinary veneration for, and to do honour to, ſo renowned a ſaint, granted to that church a very uncommon immunity and privilege [*g*]. He is ſaid to have conferred alſo a like franchiſe on the church of Rippon, in favour of St. Wilfrid [*h*]. Theſe indulgences, I conceive, were granted, at the time at leaſt, upon the ſame footing as king Ælfred's were, though with an enlargement both of time and diſtance, as may be noted in the ſequel [*i*].

In the laws of Hoel Dda, A. D. 943, all ſorts of criminals, except murderers, are admitted to ſanctuary [*k*], the right is derived from the crown [*l*], and weregild is allowed for murder.

[*c*] V. ſupra, p. 10, 11. Antiquar. Repert. p. 43. ſupra, p. 13.

[*d*] Polyd. Vergil. c. 12.

[*e*] Drake, *Eborac.* p. 79.

[*f*] Weever, p. 181. Drake, *Eborac.* p. LXXXIX. and XCI. of Appendix.

[*g*] Drake, *Eborac.* p. 407. Appendix, p. LXXXVII. Leland, Collect. IV. p. 401. Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Fridſtoll. Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 181.

[*h*] Leland, Collect. IV. p. 110. Drake, p. 79.

[*i*] Page 31.

[*k*] Wotton Leg. Wall. p. 384. The Britons called ſanctuary *nawdda* and *noddfa*.

[*l*] Ibid. p. 118.

Certain

Certain ſuperſtitious abuſes, however, ſeem ſoon after to have crept in, in our iſland; for in Edgar's Canons, who acceded A. D. 959, and died 975, prieſts are admoniſhed to ſuppreſs 'cultum voluntarium, et necromantiam, et auguria, et incantationes, et divinum hominis cultum, et plura quæ exercentur 'in variis præſtigiis, *et in cathedra pacis* [*m*], et in ulmis, et 'etiam in aliis variis arboribus, et in ſaxis, et in multis aliis 'phantaſmatibus, quibus multi eorum qui non deberent, deci-'piuntur [*n*].' This ſtring of Canons by Edgar is chiefly employed in giving directions and inſtructions to eccleſiaſtics, whence it follows, that though the immunities of churches proceeded originally from the indulgences of the crown, as has been ſhewn above [*o*], yet the management of them, both in England and Wales, was intruſted principally to the *clergy*; and from thence, as was before alſo obſerved [*p*], the prelates would often aſſert the church's rights in oppoſition to the crown itſelf. In ſhort, after the royal grants had been once obtained, the churchmen were exceedingly jealous and tenacious of their power, eſpecially during and after the legation of Ottobon, in the thirteenth century, who denounced the ſentence of excommunication on every the leaſt infraction of privilege. His conſtitutions run in a high ſtrain, and, that they might obtain their full effect, were ordered to be publiſhed every Lord's day for a year [*q*].

[*m*] The Saxon word is ꝼꞃıðꝼꞃloꝛꝛum; and Dr. Wilkins notes in his Gloſſary, 'An autem corrupte ꝼꞃıðꝼꞃloꝛꝛum, pro ꝼꞃıðꝼꝛolum, ꝼꞃıðꝼleꝛꝛum vel 'ꝼꞃıðꝼꝛoꝑum, ſcribatur, vel an vox hæc a pleꝛꝛe, *habitaculum*, et ꝑꞃıð pax deri-'vetur, affirmare non audeo; illud certa conſtat, *aſyla fugientium* denotare.'

[*n*] Edgar's Canons, N° 16.

[*o*] Page 12, 13, 14.

[*p*] Page 14.

[*q*] Mr. Johnſon's Collect. of Eccl. Laws, in Ottobon, A. 1268.

The

The 6th article of the Confeſſor's laws goes thus 'Quicunque 'reus vel noxius ad eccleſiam, causâ præſidii, confugerit, ex quo 'atrium tenuerit, a nemine inſequente nullatenus apprehenda-'tur, niſi per Pontificem aut miniſtrum ejus [r];' and one cannot doubt but the murderer was to be protected as well as other offenders. Mr. Stowe, after ſtating, that the church of Weſtminſter 'had great privilege of ſanctuary, within the precinct 'thereof, to wit, the church, churchyard, and cloſe, &c.' proceeds to ſay, the 'privilege was firſt granted by Sebert king of 'the Eaſt *Saxons* [s], ſince increaſed by Edgar king of the Weſt 'Saxons [t], renewed and confirmed by king *Edward the Con-'feſſor*;' and then inſerts Edward's charter [u]. This charter is very expreſs and full for ſecurity of life, liberty and limbs, for perſons of *all conditions*, and for *what cauſe or offence ſoever* they fled thither; and likewiſe for their goods, lands, and poſſeſſions, all which he aſſerts he *thereby* took into *his* ſpecial protection. The charter in all probability is ſpurious; it occurs not in Widmore, in whoſe work we might expect to find it: on the contrary, he is of opinion the ſanctuary commenced from the canonization of Edward by Innocent III. after A. D. 1198, namely, from the high veneration the people had for him, which of courſe would alſo be ſhewn to the place of his burial [w]. But whether the charter be ſpurious or not, it anſwers our purpoſe, as ſhewing the ſenſe which the compiler, whoever he was,

[r] Wilkins, Leg. Sax. p. 197.

[s] This has been diſproved above, p. 19.

[t] Edgar did repair and reſtore the monaſtery. Widmore, Hiſt. of Weſtm. Abbey, p. 4. ſeq. but nothing is there ſaid of the ſanctuary: ſo that all this is groundleſs inference.

[u] Stowe, Survey, II. p. 614.

[w] Widmore, l. c. p. 15.

had

had of the nature of the inſtitution, and the practice of the time concerning it.

The Normans, on their coming, embraced the ordinance in its utmoſt latitude, and perhaps it might not be new to them. *William*, in founding Battle-abbey, gave the abbat a power of ſaving *any* malefactor, if he [the abbat] happened to come to the place of execution [*x*]; and moreover he made the abbey-church a place of ſafety for any felon or *murderer*. The words of the charter, as we have them in Camden, are, 'If any thief, 'or murderer, or perſon guilty of other crime, fly for fear of 'death, and come to this church; let him have no harm, but 'be freely diſmiſſed [*y*];' and thereupon Dr. Fuller obſerves, that he made the convent *a center of ſinners* [*z*]. As to churches in general, William confirmed the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, and conſequently *that* relative to ſanctuary [*a*].

Things ſeem to have continued very much in the ſame ſituation till the extinction of the ordinance in the reign of James I. except that in proceſs of time, and probably about the thirteenth century, debtors got admiſſion into places of immunity, in order to ſecure themſelves from the ſeverity of their creditors.

It has been remarked by ſome, that all or moſt Chriſtian countries have been furniſhed with ſanctuaries, but none ſo much as England; and Mr. Blount adds, that our ancient kings ſeem to have attributed moſt unto them, meaning, that they have ſhewn them the greateſt deference and regard.

After this deduction of the general hiſtory of the ordinance here, we need only to notice certain ſpecialties, and modes of

[*x*] Camden, Britannia. *Suſſex*.
[*y*] Camden, l. c.
[*z*] Fuller, Ch. Hiſt. book iii. p. 1. et v. ſupra, p. 13.
[*a*] Wilkins, Legg. Sax. p. 197.

proceeding,

proceeding occurring in authors concerning it, which, it is hoped, may afford ſome novelty and amuſement to the inquiſitive reader. Theſe are, to throw them into ſome method.

1. The extent of the privilege, &c.
2. Formalities on entering ſanctuary, and demeanour there.
3. Sorts of malefactors.
4. Deliverance from thence.
5. Infringement of the ordinance.
6. Enumeration of our principal aſyla.
7. 21 James I. Proceedings at and after the Reformation, and the total ſuppreſſion.

1. Some churches, as we have ſeen [*b*], were deemed more ſacred than others; and the parts of ſanctuary, it may by parity of reaſon be conceived, were held in different eſtimation, ſo that the fine or puniſhment upon violation would be greater or leſs, according to the place whence the ſanctuary-man was taken, or where he was aſſaulted. At Weſtminſter the aſylum included the church, church-yard, and cloſe, &c. In regard to church-yards, it is written expreſly, 'eccleſiarum ſanctuaria, 'quæ populariter *cæmeteria* nominantur [*c*].' The limits of the aſylum were ſometimes very extenſive. At Hexham 'there were 'four croſſes [*d*] ſet up at a certain diſtance from the church, 'in the four ways leading thereunto: now if a malefactor fly-'ing for refuge to that church was taken or apprehended with-'in the croſſes, the party that took or laid hold of him there 'did forfeit *two hundredh*; if he took him within the town,

[*b*] Page 15.

[*c*] Wilkins, Concil. II. p. 183. See Weever, p. 181. Selden on Drayton's Polyolb. Song 16. Matth. Weſtm. p. 60.

[*d*] It is probable there were ſuch round Beverley. One of them ſtill remaining is engraved in plate IV. of vol. III. of the new edition of Camden's Britannia, p. 73. Plate IV. fig. 2.

'then he forfeited *four hundredh*; if within the walls of the 'church-yard, then *fix hundredh*; if within the church, then 'twelve *hundredh*; if within the doors of the quire, then 'eighteen *hundredh*; beſides penance, as in caſe of ſacrilege; but 'if he preſumed to take him out of the ſtone chair near the 'altar called *fridſtol*, or from amongſt the *holy relicks* behind the 'altar [*e*], the offence was not redeemable with any ſum, but 'was then become, *ſine emendatione*, *boteles*, and nothing but 'the utmoſt ſeverity of the offended church was to be expected 'by a dreadful excommunication; beſides what the ſecular 'power would impoſe for the preſumptuous miſdemeanor [*f*].' Mr. Staveley obſerves, and has it from his author, that the *hundred* contained eight pound [*g*], ſo that the laſt penalty was moſt immenſe, nearly as much as the *weregild* for killing a crowned head in Wales [*h*]; and indeed, every act of violence committed againſt the rite of ſanctuary was eſteemed a breach of the church's peace, a high crime, and a ſpecies of ſacrilege [*i*].

[*e*] The veneration for *relicks*, it appears, was at this time very profound, ranking with that for the *fridſtoll* itſelf. And in Wales, a perſon might go out of an aſylum, and be ſafe, if he carried *relicks* with him; but then the relicks could not uphold or protect him if he committed any evil acts. Legg. Hoel Dda, lib. ii. c. 8. They are held here in the ſame eſtimation as a croſs or a crucifix, v. infra, p. 34.

[*f*] Mr. Staveley, p. 173, citing Ric. Prior Hagulſtad. de ſtatu et epiſcopis Haguſtaldenſis eccleſiæ apud X Script. ch. 13, col. 308. See alſo Mr. Drake, *Eborac.* p. 548, and Appendix, p. xc. Widmore, Hiſt. of Weſtm. Abbey, p. 105.

[*g*] Mr. Drake, Ebor. p. 548, takes the *hundred* for *men of the hundred*, but in that I think he muſt be miſtaken, as the hundred is ſaid to contain 8 l. and ſee Dr. Thoroton, p. 313, where much the ſame account is given of the privilege at York. One copy there, however, rates the hundred at 6 l.

[*h*] Leg. Wall. p. 199 compared with p. 201. See for this, Gent. Magaz. 1753. p. 268.

[*i*] Archbiſhop Boniface, H. 126. art. 8. Linwood, p. 256. and by a law of king Alfred, 120 s. a very heavy fine then, was to be paid to the violated church on this account. Leg. Alfredi in Wilkinſii Concil. I. p. 191.

The

The bounds at Beverley were a mile round every way [*k*], and ſo at Rippon [*l*]. Thoſe of St. Martin's le Grand in the city of London are deſcribed in words, and by a plan cut in wood, in Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey [*m*]. Lord Lyttelton informs us, that the Welch were particularly ſtrict and ſuperſtitious in regard to this ordinance, and adds, that they allowed all criminals, even murderers and traytors, to have ſecurity in churches, not only for themſelves, but for their ſervants, and even for their cattle; 'to feed which laſt 'conſiderable tracts of paſture land were aſſigned, in the 'whole compaſs whereof they were ſacred and inviolable, 'nay, with relation to ſome of the principal churches . . . . 'the right of ſanctuary was extended as far as the cattle 'could range in a day and return at night [*n*].' The whole town of Hexham, being included within the croſſes above mentioned, enjoyed immunity, and the city of York was poſſeſſed of it in ſome degree [*o*]; whence one ſees upon what grounds, the compiler of the Britiſh Hiſtory, in the caſe of Molmutius above, feigned that *cities* were privileged by him. The part of a church moſt reverenced was the altar, and the *fridſtol*, or ſtone-chair. This chair at Beverley was inſcribed, 'Hæc ſedes 'lapidea Freedſtoole dicitur, i. e. Pacis cathedra, ad quam reus 'fugiendo perveniens, omnimodam habet ſecuritatem [*p*].'

[*k*] Leland, Collect. II. p. 101. Drake, *Eborac.* p. LXXXVIII and XC of Appendix.

[*l*] Leland, ibid. p. 110. Mr. Drake, l. c. p. XCI, XCII. *Leuca* there meaning a mile.

[*m*] Stowe, Survey, I. p. 611. 613. edit. Strype, where ſee the regulations preſcribed by Henry VI.

[*n*] Lord Lyttelton, Life of Hen. II. vol. II. p. 358.

[*o*] Drake, *Eborac.* p. 548.

[*p*] Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Fridſtoll. The inſcription is put in a different tenſe in Drake, Eborac. p. XCI. and has other ſmall variations. See Camden, col. 891. It ſtands now againſt the South wall of St. John's chapel in the minſter. The inſcription has been long gone. R. G.

That at York was *againſt* the altar [*q*], that at Hexham and Durham *near it* [*r*]. At Armethwaite in Cumberland there was a Benedictine nunnery founded by king William Rufus, and on a pillar three yards high, placed on a riſing ground, is inſcribed, SANTVARIVM 1088 [*s*]. The pillar is ſquare, and I am informed that the ſanctuary ſtone, which one muſt ſuppoſe to have been the *fridſtoll*, is incloſed within it. This however is very wonderful, as the ſtone, if it were the *fridſtoll*, ought in all reaſon to have been within the nunnery. It could not well be taken thence, and included within the pillar, ſince the Reformation for inſtance, becauſe, to judge from the form of the letters in the inſcription, the pillar appears to be as old as the foundation of the nunnery itſelf. The matter deſerves to be further enquired into; this, however, may be determined, in the mean time, that the privilege of ſanctuary at this place certainly extended to this pillar.

A croſs in a highway had the privilege of protecting, 'ſi quis 'ad aliquam crucem *in via*, perſequentibus inimicis, confuge-'rit, liber ac ſi in ipſa eccleſia, permaneat [*t*].'

2. It ſeems natural to enquire next into the cuſtomary formalities of entering a place of ſanctuary. By the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, if a fugitive in going to refuge ſhould enter the houſe or courtyard of a prieſt, he was to be as ſafe as if he had reached the church, provided the premiſes ſtood upon the demeſnes of the church [*u*]. As if there was a relative ſanctity in the premiſes, derived from the proximity of the altar, to which they were ſuppoſed to belong.

[*q*] Drake, p. 548.

[*r*] Vide ſupra.

[*s*] Gent. Magaz. 1755. p. 440.

[*t*] Concilium Claromont. 1093. apud Du Freſne, tom. ii. col. 1184.

[*u*] Wilkins, Legg. Sax. p. 197. Weever, p. 182. Acceſs was to be eaſy in the Holy Land. See p. 4.

It may here, however, properly be noted, that there was anciently alſo a regard and reverence ſhewn to certain characters and places, which though it amounted not to the dignity and religion of ſanctuary properly ſpeaking, yet entitled the fugitive, nevertheleſs, to a temporary ſecurity. Thus it is directed in the Conſtitutions of king Ethelred, A. D. 1008, 'that if a 'perſon guilty of a capital offence fled to the king, archbiſhop, 'or nobleman, he ſhould be allowed no more than nine days, 'unleſs the king ſhould pleaſe to indulge him with more. If he 'had recourſe to the biſhop of his province, to the alderman, or 'healrene heapod þrede [*x*], then he was to be ſafe only for 'ſeven days, unleſs the great man would allow him longer 'time [*y*].' It was a piece of reſpect and decency due to the eminency of the parties ſpecified, and the peace of the places of their reſpective abodes; whence Sir Henry Spelman writes, that þynðrtop 'ſignifies præterea *palatium*, quod palatia regum et 'optimatum multis legibus a vi et injuria erant immunia [*z*];' and of this nature, I apprehend, is the *verge of the court*, as it is called, at this day. This at the ſame time was a laudable expedient for giving the malefactor time, either to exculpate himſelf, or to make ſatisfaction; for it follows in the law, relative to this caſe, 'If he be a thief or robber, let him reſtore 'what he hath unjuſtly taken, if he hath it in his poſſeſſion; 'or if he hath waſted or embezzled it, let him make it good 'from his own property if he be able [*a*].'

Criminals flying to ſanctuary were to declare their intention of taking refuge, and then they were not to be obſtructed or

[*x*] This is rendered *ſummum capitolium*; meaning a *dignitary* in a cathedral; a *precentor* perhaps, or head of the ſchool. Du Freſne, v. Capitolus.

[*y*] Wilkins, Legg. Sax. p. 110.

[*z*] Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Fridſtoll. See alſo Wilkins, Legg. Sax. p. 197.

[*a*] Wilkins, Legg. Sax. p. 197.

hindered

hindered from entering the church [*b*]. On their acceſſion to the place and entering the precinct, they were to confeſs their reſpective crimes, or the cauſes of their repairing to ſhelter, before a coroner, and to give in their names, all which were to be recorded [*c*]. At *Durham*, the refugé knocked at the door of the *Galilee*, and men lay ready to let him in at any hour of the night. They then tolled the Galilee bell, that it might be known ſome one had taken ſanctuary; and the prior ordered, that the refugé ſhould have a gown of black cloth, with a yellow croſs, called St. Cuthbert's croſs, at the left ſhoulder; he was lodged on a grate within the fabric, on the ſouth ſide, adjoining to the door, and near the altar [*d*]. But probably the modes of entry varied in different places. Refugés were moreover to be totally diſarmed, defenſively as well as offenſively, and allowed only a pointleſs knife to carve with [*e*]. This, in the larger and moſt frequented ſanctuaries, was a very neceſſary precaution, becauſe theſe fugitives, being a ſet of bad people aſſembled together, would often iſſue from the privileged place, and committing riots, robberies, murders, &c. [*f*] bring in thither their ſtolen goods [*g*], for which, however, they were liable to be *impriſoned* as long as they remained in the aſylum, with liberty nevertheleſs to leave it, if they pleaſed [*b*]. By ſtat. 32 Hen. VIII. the ſanctuary-man was to appear before the governor, and if he had committed any felony was to loſe his

[*b*] Archbiſhop Boniface, Conſtitut. 1261. art. 8.

[*c*] Stowe, Survey, I. p. 607. Lord Bacon, Hiſt. of Hen. VII. p. 104.

[*d*] Patr. Sanderſon, Antiq. of Durham Abbey, p. 43. ſeq. the altar was I preſume, in the Galilee.

[*e*] Stowe, ibidem.

[*f*] Lord Bacon, l. c. Stowe, p. 607, 608. Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

[*g*] The effects of refugés, if *within* the place, were under protection; but t. H. VII. thoſe *without* were not. Lord Bacon, l. c.

[*b*] Stowe, ibidem.

privilege.

privilege. This ſeems to have been the caſe too, after the acceſſion of Henry VII. [*i*], but I think the delinquent might go into any other place before that time [*k*]. For the ſame reaſon, notorious offenders were to give bond, and others with them, on entering the ſanctuary, for their good abearing during their abode there [*l*]; and if a man did damage to any one, though but to the value of a penny, he was no longer to enjoy the benefit of his preſent aſylum, according to the laws of Hoel Dda [*m*], but to ſeek another.

The Engliſh ſanctuary, with all its faults and imperfections, particularly the natural tendency it had to encourage evil and miſchief, was ſtill conſidered as having a regard to penance; and therefore refugés were required to take an oath, not only to obſerve the wholeſome regulations of the place [*n*], but alſo not to prophane the Sabbath [*o*]; foreigners, not free of the city, often inhabiting there [*p*], and others taking houſes (though they were dear on account of the protection [*q*]), and exerciſing their trades [*r*], in privileged places of extent, as in St. Martin's le Grand and Weſtminſter [*s*]; at which latter place, they were bound in queen Elizabeth's time, to attend morning and evening ſervice [*t*], and were provided with two churches, one over

[*i*] Widmore, Hiſt. of Weſtm. Abbey, p. 141.
[*k*] Hoel Dda, in Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 210.
[*l*] Stowe, I. p. 607, alſo II. p. 615. ſeq.
[*m*] Wilkins, ibid. Lord Bacon, Hiſt. of Hen. VII. p. 24.
[*n*] Stowe, I. p. 608.
[*o*] Ibid. ibidem.
[*p*] Ibid. p. 614.
[*q*] Ibid. p. 609. Widmore, p. 141. Dr. Stukeley, Archæologia, I. p. 43.
[*r*] Ibid. p. 608.
[*s*] Widmore, ibidem.
[*t*] Stowe, II. p. 615. Spelman, Gloſſ. v. Fridſtol.

the

the other, for the purpoſe [*u*]. This, however, ſeems to relate chiefly to foreigners and debtors, who, together with the malefactors, compoſed a numerous body in the more eminent aſyla [*w*].

3dly, Though our ſanctuaries were open in a common way to murderers and aſſaſſins [*x*], and other very atrocious offenders, yet all ſorts of malefactors were not permitted to enter them indiſcriminately, and to enjoy the privilege. Archbiſhop Boniface's Conſtitution ſays, 'Let the church protect thoſe only, 'whom the canons direct to be protected,' and certain deſcriptions of men were excepted in the *Welch* Laws [*y*]. Traytors were excluded [*z*], as now they are in Italy [*a*]; and the church would not admit Jews, Infidels and Hereticks [*b*], and it may be added, Catholicks, if their crime were committed *in* the church [*c*]. Mr. Johnſon obſerves, 'Public robbers and depopulators of the country only were excepted by canon law '(Decretal. l. iii. tit. 49. c. 6.) and, ſays Linwood, ſuch as refuſed to pay the tribute [*d*].'

The temporal lords inſiſted, in the reign of Richard II. that the privilege of ſanctuary extended no further than to preſerve

[*u*] Dr. Stukeley, ibid. p. 39. He does not tell us why there were two. One perhaps might be for criminals, the other for debtors and inhabitants.

[*w*] Strype, Mem. III. p. 310. Stowe, I. p. 614.

[*x*] Ottobon, 1268, art. 12.

[*y*] Of Hoel Dda, p. 104. 348. edit. Clarke. See alſo Juſtinian. Novell. 17, de Mandat. Princ.

[*z*] Rapin, I. p. 803. Lord Bacon, Hiſt. Hen. VIII. p. 12. Staveley, p. 173. 175.

[*a*] Smollet, Trav. p. 279.

[*b*] Linwood, p. 257, where *minus Catholicus* means, we may preſume, an Heretick.

[*c*] Mr. Johnſon on Archbiſhop Boniface's Conſtitut.

[*d*] Ibid. art. 8.

life

life and limb, and not to protect debtors, or interfere with actions of account [*e*]. This undoubtedly was the design of the institution originally [*f*]; but the lords could not carry their point, as we find by the proceedings of our sanctuaries in after-times. Every thing, consequently, relative to debtors, their goods and chattels, was an abuse and perversion of the rite [*g*], though in tract of time they got shelter in sanctuaries, and the protection went so far, as to secure their goods and effects [*h*]. Thus the new templars refused to deliver up *Hubert de Burgh's* money to the king, Henry III. without his consent [*i*]. This extension of privilege occasioned much evil and iniquity, as knavish and dishonest men would often run into sanctuary, in order to defraud their creditors, and to avoid paying their just debts. We have a clear proof of this, in the debtors' being obliged at last to swear, that they did not claim privilege and protection for the purpose of cheating their creditors, but only for the safety of their persons, when they were not able to pay [*k*]. One species of fraud, in this line, was intolerable; a sanctuary-man would bring into his fastness stolen goods or merchandize [*l*], with intent to live upon them [*m*]. But now, the sanctuary-man, as Mr. Johnson tells us, was 'not secured from 'pecuniary satisfaction, much less from penance, nor from pay-

[*e*] Collier, Eccles. Hist. I. p. 568. Staveley, p. 173.

[*f*] Stowe, Survey, II. p. 614.

[*g*] What is said above, p. 31, of the security of cattle in Wales, is spoken of the cattle of felons.

[*h*] Dugd. Bar. I. p. 697. he, however, thought proper to consent.

[*i*] Ibid. p. 697.

[*k*] Temp. Eliz. Stowe, Survey, II. p. 615, where the form of the oath may be seen.

[*l*] V. p. 15.

[*m*] Stowe, Survey, I. p. 608. Ottobon 1268. art. 12.

'ing his debts [*n*];' on the contrary, he was required, in queen Elizabeth's time, to deliver in upon oath a ſchedule of his debts, and of his effects wherewith he might make preſent payment, and to ſwear, that he would labour and do his utmoſt to ſatisfy his creditors [*o*]; a very juſt regulation.

4thly, A fugitive felon betook himſelf to ſanctuary for his own benefit and ſecurity, and therefore might leave it when he pleaſed [*p*], on making his peace, we will ſuppoſe, with his adverſary, obtaining his pardon, or from any other cauſe that might enable him to extinguiſh his aſylum with ſafety. Some of theſe juſtifiable cauſes were abſolutely neceſſary, for otherwiſe if he came out voluntarily, and was found abroad, the avenger might kill him [*q*]. It appears, however, from a paſſage in *Hoel Dda*, that in *Wales* a ſanctuary-man might ſafely go out of bounds, if he carried a *relick* with him [*r*]. A competent time was allowed, as has been ſhewn [*s*], for the purpoſe of reconciliation, and therefore he was not to burthen the church unto which he had reſorted, for ever [*t*]. Wherefore, after entertainment and ſecurity for the time allowed, a refugé, if a layman [*u*], was bound to abjure his country [*x*] (if he did

[*n*] Mr. Johnſon on archbiſhop Boniface's Conſtit. 1261. art. 1. Linwood, p. 256.

[*o*] Stowe, Survey, II. p. 615.

[*p*] Ibid. I. p. 607. v. ſupra, p. 30.

[*q*] Hoſpin. p. 78. See above, p. 5.

[*r*] Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 210. et ſupra, p. 31.

[*s*] Page 29.

[*t*] This is different from the caſe of debtors in ſanctuaries of that extent, who lived by their own labour.

[*u*] Clerks were not bound to abjure. Linwood, p. 256, but yielding themſelves up to the laws of the realm, might enjoy the liberties of the church, and ſo be delivered to the ordinary. Antiquar. Repert. I. p. 175.

[*x*] The proper term was *foris jurare*, v. Spelman in voce, where, however, we ſhould read *nec redeat* for *nec videat*, as in Dr. Wilkins, edit. p. 198. The form of the oath is in Antiq. Repert. I. c. See Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

not do it before), and ſwear not to return without the king's licence. Then taking a crucifix [*y*] in his hand as a *caduceus* to ſhew he was under protection [*z*], whoſoever ſeized him on his journey, took him from the highway, or ſlew him when taken thence, was liable to inflictions as for ſacrilege [*a*]. He was to take the direct road to the next port, or the port aſſigned him [*b*], and embark the firſt opportunity. And if, after endeavouring forty days to get a paſſage abroad, by going every day into the water up to his knees, or above, he did not ſucceed, he was to return to his ſanctuary [*c*], and by 21 Henry VIII. the abjured perſon was to be marked by the coroner on his thumb; and, if he refuſed to take his paſſage at the time appointed by the coroner, he was to loſe the benefit of ſanctuary [*d*]. It ſhould ſeem that, inſtead of abjuring for the purpoſe of going abroad, he might, by the Act 21 Henry VIII. take his *abjuration* to any one ſanctuary, there to remain a ſanctuary-man *abjured* during his natural life; and if afterwards he came out, without the king's licence, he was to ſuffer in the ſame manner as if he had abjured the kingdom, and returned [*e*]. It ſeems too, that not more than twenty perſons at a time were to be admitted as ſanctuary-men in one place [*f*].

A query is ſtarted in Linwood, whether a ſanctuary-man could be taken out of his aſylum by a biſhop; and he is of

[*y*] V. infra, p. 41. Linwood, p. 256. Antiq. Repert. l. c. Sanctuary-men wore croſs keys on their garments in a proceſſion at Weſtminſter. Strype, Mem. III. p. 310.

[*z*] Archbiſhop Boniface, Conſtitut. 1261. art. 8. Antiq. Repert. I. c.

[*a*] Boniface 1261. art. 8.

[*b*] Antiq. Repert. I. p. 175.

[*c*] Ibid. l. c.

[*d*] Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

[*e*] Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 5. alſo, 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

[*f*] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

opinion he might; namely, for the purpoſe of being ſhut up in a monaſtery of a ſtrict order for the doing perpetual penance, or puniſhed in any other eccleſiaſtical way [*g*]. *Jeffrey*, natural ſon of Henry II. and archbiſhop of York, took ſanctuary A. D. 1191 at St. Martin's priory at Dover, and was dragged from the altar in his archiepiſcopal veſtments through the dirty ſtreets, and committed to the caſtle there, by order of *William Longchamp*, biſhop of Ely [*h*]. William at that time was alſo the pope's legate, and might perpetrate this act of violence, either by virtue of his legatine power, or as a prelate of the church. *Hubert Walter*, archbiſhop of Canterbury, took *William Longbeard*, a mover of ſedition, about 1196, from the church of St. Mary le Bow, and hung him in chains [*i*].

5thly, Offences againſt the privilege of ſanctuary were thought very heinous, even worthy of divine vengeance [*k*]. *Leland* reports, that *Thurſtin*, a knight, was inſtantly ſtrucken with a diſeaſe, for purſuing a perſon in the church with a drawn ſword [*l*]. Infraction was deemed a ſpecies of ſacrilege [*m*], and was puniſhed ſometimes with the loſs of life and goods [*n*]. *Mourie*, a Welch king, was excommunicated by *Joſeph*, biſhop of Llandaff, A. D. 1034, for this cauſe [*o*]. When the diſgraced and perſecuted foreigners, A. D. 1234, took ſanctuary, and *Peter de Rupibus*, the powerful biſhop of

[*g*] Linwood, p. 257, where the reaſons of his opinion may be ſeen.
[*h*] Rapin, I. p. 240.
[*i*] Ibid. Diceto, col. 691.
[*k*] See charter of Edw. Conf. in Stowe's Survey, II. p. 614.
[*l*] Leland, Collect. IV. p. 103. ex vita Joan. Beverl. I look upon this to be the ſame caſe with that of *Truſten*, p. 104, where for *petiit* we ought to read *periit* from p. 103.
[*m*] Supra, p. 26.
[*n*] Du Freſne, v. Sanctuarium. Weever, p. 491.
[*o*] Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 310.

Wincheſter,

Winchester, repaired to his cathedral, it was not thought proper to force him thence [*p*]. And ſo late as the reign of king Henry VII. the king would not take *Perkin Warbeck* from his ſanctuary, but allured him out of his hold by promiſe of life and pardon [*q*], though Perkin muſt have been conſidered as a rebel and traytor. See the caſe of Alexander and Megabyzus above, p. 7.

But notwithſtanding this general opinion of the ſanctity of privileged places, yet in defiance thereof, and the ſevere penalties annexed to infractions, breaches of ſanctuary very frequently happened. King *Henry* the Second, from his ſtrictneſs in regard to juſtice, is ſaid by *Knyghton* to have ſhewn no reverence at all for the *aſyla*, but to have taken delinquents from churches without ſcruple, both clergymen and laymen, in order to bring them to puniſhment [*r*]. *William de Peverel* durſt not truſt to the privilege of the convent he had retired to, after poiſoning the earl of Cheſter [*s*]; and archbiſhop *Boniface* complains, that ſanctuary-men were often in his time, A. D. 1261, forced from churches, church-yards, or public roads [*t*]. In 1378, the archbiſhop, *Simon Sudbury*, complained in parliament, of the invaſion of the franchiſes of holy church, by the murder of one *Robert Hauley*, a gentleman, who had fled to the abbey church of *Weſtminſter*, and was there ſlain at the high altar, while the prieſt was officiating. A ſervant alſo belonging to

[*p*] Rapin, I. p. 310.

[*q*] Lord Bacon, p. 105.

[*r*] Knyghton, apud X. Script. col. 2400.

[*s*] Lord Lyttelton, Life of Hen. II. vol. II. p. 289. See alſo an Inſtance of Contempt, p. 359.

[*t*] Archbiſhop Boniface, Conſtitut. art. 8. See the ſtory of *Hubert de Burgh* below.

the

the church, who interpoſed to preſerve Hauley, underwent the ſame fate [*u*].

Infringements of privilege, however, ſeldom happened, but they were complained of, and redreſſed [*w*], as well may be expected from the tenderneſs and extreme ſtrictneſs of the prelates, in theſe times, in regard to the rights of the church. The church of Weſtminſter was ſhut up about four months, on account of the profanation of it by the murder of Hauley, as above; the offenders were all of them excommunicated; a large ſum of money was paid to the church, and in the next parliament at Weſtminſter the privileges of ſanctuary were confirmed, with this exception, that the goods of perſons taking ſanctuary ſhould be liable to pay his debts [*x*]. I ſhall report at large the caſe of the great juſticiary and favourite of Henry III. *Hubert de Burgh*, earl of Kent, as being not only in point, but affording alſo ſeveral other circumſtances illuſtrative of our ſubject. 'About 1232, Hubert falling into diſgrace with his maſter, took ſanctuary in *Merton* priory, but the king commanded the mayor of London to force him from it, and *Hubert* fled to the high altar. This was afterwards countermanded on account of the *ſacredneſs* of the ſanctuary, with other political reaſons. Earl *Hubert* then came from the faſtneſs of himſelf, but ſoon took refuge in a ſmall chapel at *Brentwood* in Eſſex [*y*], taking a croſs [*z*] in one hand, and the hoſt in the other. Theſe, however, were forced from him, his feet were

[*u*] Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. I. p. 568, or Mr. Widmore, Hiſt. of Weſtm. Abbey, p. 104, where the ſtory is more circumſtantially related. See alſo the caſe of Humph. Stafford, t. H. VII. in Staveley, p. 174. Stowe, Surv. I. p. 608.

[*w*] Stowe, Surv. I. p. 606. 608. II. p. 615. Leland. Collect. IV. p. 110.

[*x*] Widmore, Hiſtory of Weſtminſter Abbey, p. 105.

[*y*] A chapel of eaſe to South Weld, Newcourt, II. p. 646.

[*z*] This ſeems to be called a crucifix above, p. 35.

'chained

'chained under his horſe's belly, and in that ignominious manner was he conducted to the Tower. The whole body of the 'clergy were alarmed at this, and the biſhop of London declared to the king, that he would excommunicate all thoſe 'who were concerned in this breach of the church's privileges. The king ordered *Hubert* to be ſent back to the chapel, but commanded the ſheriffs of Hertford and Eſſex to 'guard the chapel ſo ſtrictly, that the priſoner might neither 'eſcape, nor receive victuals from any perſon, which was done 'by making a ditch about the biſhop's manor-houſe and adjoining chapel. *Hubert* then yielded himſelf to the ſheriffs, 'who carried him to the Tower, fettered and chained. His 'affairs being in part made up, he was ſent to the caſtle of 'the *Devizes*, but from thence he eſcaped to a neighbouring 'church, where his purſuers finding him before the altar with 'the croſs in his hands, dragged him thence by violence, and 'brought him back to the caſtle. The church was in the dioceſe of *Sarum*, and the biſhop, upon this outrage committed '*againſt the privilege of the church*, repaired to the caſtle, to 'try to perſuade the governor to remit *Hubert* to the church, 'but his ſollicitations proving ineffectual, he excommunicated 'the whole garriſon, and preferred a complaint to the king: 'the biſhop of London, and ſome other prelates, joined him, 'and they ſo preſſed the king, that he ordered the priſoner to 'be reſtored to his ſanctuary. This, however, was of ſmall 'benefit to *Hubert*, as the king commanded the ſheriff of the 'county to prevent any perſon from bringing him victuals. On 'the morrow he was reſcued by a troop of armed men, and eſcaped into *Wales*, and at laſt died peaceably [*a*].'

When the preſumptuous dared not infringe the ordinance directly, for fear of the penalties and cenſures, they would often

[*a*] Dugd. Bar. I. p. 696. Rapin, p. 306.

find

find means of doing it in effect. One method was, by blockading and ſtarving the priſoner, as in earl *Hubert's* caſe above [*b*]; archbiſhop Boniface complains of this mode of infraction, A. D. 1261, and ſubjects the aggreſſors to cenſure [*c*]. Churches ſometimes were even fired to cauſe the refugés to come out [*d*]. Priſoners, again, were ſometimes perſuaded to leave their aſylum, as *Perkin Warbeck* was above, on terms and conditions, ſuch as the preſervation of life and liberty [*e*]. In this, however, they were ſometimes cheated and deceived, being ſeized, or perhaps killed. Thus the emperor *Zeno*, to induce *Baſiliſcus* to quit his ſanctuary, promiſed not to ſhed his blood; but nevertheleſs he caſt him, with his wife and children, into a dry ciſtern, where they periſhed [*f*].

6th, It has been obſerved, that though all churches were privileged with ſanctuary, yet the inferior ones were not often reſorted to [*g*]. Inſtances, however, are not wanting in hiſtory, and perhaps many, of offenders repairing to common churches or chapels [*h*]. This, my Lord, makes it neceſſary to ſpecify ſome of the principal aſyla in this kingdom, for I do not pretend to name all, and I ſhall place them in alphabetical order, adding ſome few authorities.

[*b*] Vide ſupra, p. 7. Lord Bacon, Hen. VII. p. 104.

[*c*] See his Conſtitutions, art. 8. and Ottobon, A. 1268. art. 12.

[*d*] Dugd. l. c. p. 695. Ottobon. l. c. excommunicates *burners* and breakers of churches. See Flor. Vigorn. p. 640, or Godwin de Præſul. p. 730.

[*e*] Smollet, Trav. p. 279.

[*f*] Perizon ad Turſellin. III. p. 473. MS. ut ſupra. Beliſarius played Sylverius much the ſame trick, Idem. ibid. p. 490. and Phocas, in like manner ſhamefully broke promiſe with Conſtantina wife of Mauritius. Idem. ibid. p. 514.

[*g*] V. ſupra, p. 12.

[*h*] Story of Hubert de Burgh, above.

Aberdaron, Wales [*a*].
Abingdon [*b*].
Armethwaite, Cumberland [*c*].
Beaulieu, Hants [*d*].
Beverley, Ebor. [*e*].
Battle-Abbey, Suſſex [*f*].
Colcheſter [*g*].
Derby [*h*].
Durham [*i*].
Dover [*k*].
Hexham, Northumberland [*l*].
Launcaſter [*m*].
Lechlade [*n*].
London; St. Martin's le Grand, and Temple.
Mancheſter [*o*].
Merton Priory [*p*].
Northampton [*q*].
Norwich [*r*].

[*a*] Girald. Cambr. Deſc. Cambr. c. 8. Lord Lyttelton, II. p. 359.
[*b*] Charta Kenulphi regis in Du Freſne, v. Sanctuarium. Staveley, p. 174.
[*c*] Supra, p. 28.
[*d*] Camden, Brit. col. 135. Lord Bacon, Hiſt. Hen. VII. p. 104. Rapin, I. p. 263.
[*e*] Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Fridſtoll & Sanctuarium. Camden, Brit. col. 891. Drake, Eborac. p. LXXXIX of Appendix.
[*f*] Camden, Brit. col. 209. p. 29. above. Fuller, Ch. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 1.
[*g*] Lord Bacon, p. 11. Staveley, p. 174.
[*h*] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12. All Saints Church was then collegiate.
[*i*] Pat. Sanderſon, Antiq. of the church of Durham, p. 43. Staveley, p. 43.
[*k*] Antiq. Repert. p. 175. ſupra, p. 36.
[*l*] Staveley, p. 173. Richard. prior Haguſtald. ut ſup. p. 25.
[*m*] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Staveley, p. 176, has *Launceſton*.
[*n*] Carta H. III. in Du Freſne, v. Sanctuarium.
[*o*] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
[*p*] Supra, p. 38.
[*q*] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
[*r*] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

Ripon [*s*].
St. Martin's le Grand, London [*t*].
St. Mary le Bow, London [*u*].
Temple, London [*w*].
Wells [*x*].
Weſtminſter [*y*].
Wincheſter [*z*].
York [*a*], was probably granted by Edward the Confeſſor [*b*].

In Scotland, Holyrood abbey near Edinburgh afforded a protection to debtors. Its precincts including the park and a ſpace as far as Duddingſton is ſtill a place of refuge to them, and has its bailey who keeps courts and puniſhes offenders within his juriſdiction [*c*].

7th, The immunities and privileges of the church in regard to ſanctuary appear never to have run higher than in the 13th century; witneſs the conſtitution of archbiſhop *Boniface*, A. D. 1261, and of Ottobon the legate, A. D. 1268. This is ſaid in reſpect of criminals, for as to debtors, and all the evil doings reſpecting them, we hear but little of them either before, or at that period. Indeed, they ſeem to be the growth of after-times, to be all encroachments, and an unjuſtifiable extenſion

[*s*] Leland, Collect. IV. p. 110. Dugd. Mon. I. p. 172. Drake, Eborac. p. xci of Appendix.

[*t*] Weever, p. 300. Stowe, Surv. I. 606 ſeq. It was given by king Henry VII. to *Weſtminſter*, p. 612. II. p. 615. Newcourt, Repert. I. p. 424, ſeq. Supra, p. 27.

[*u*] Supra, p. 36.

[*w*] Weever, p. 441.

[*x*] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

[*y*] Weever, p. 491. Stowe, Surv. II. p. 614 ſeq. Antiq. Repert. p. 43.

[*z*] Supra, p. 36.

[*a*] Spelm. Gloſſ. v. Fridſtoll. Drake, Eborac. p. 548.

[*b*] Mr. Drake, p. 547, where *Alfred* ſhould be *Alfric*, though he is called *Alfrid* in Leland, Collect. IV. p. 102.

[*c*] Pennant's Tour in Scotland 1772, P. ii. p. 246.

of the church's power, never intended to be granted by our princes [*d*].

The rite, as we have ſeen, was cloſely connected with religion, eſpecially with the popery of later times; wherefore, it may eaſily be imagined, the privilege would undoubtedly undergo ſome material alteration and regulation at the time of the Reformation.

Henry VIII. having reſumed the ſupremacy, it was confirmed to him by ſtatute in his 26th year; and in the ſame act, offenders in any kinds of high treaſon were not to be admitted to the benefit or privilege of any manner of ſanctuary [*e*].

The monaſteries being diſſolved before 1540, and conſequently not continuing privileged places any longer, ſanctuaries were then confined to pariſh churches and their church-yards, cathedral churches, hoſpitals and churches collegiate, and all churches dedicated uſed as pariſh churches, and thoſe of Wells, Weſtminſter, Mancheſter, Northampton, Norwich, York, Derby and Lancaſter [*f*]. Whereupon it may be obſerved, that though Henry would not venture to deprive the churches of an acknowledged privilege, which they had long and legally been poſſeſſed of, becauſe the body of the clergy would have clamoured exceſſively, had he attempted that, yet theſe cities and towns were intended to be the principal places of reſort, and they were ſelected accordingly at proper diſtances, and very commodiouſly diſperſed over a great part of the kingdom.

Immunity, at the ſame time, was not to be allowed to perſons committing murder, rape, burglary, robbery in the highway or in any houſe, or in any church or chapel, or who ſhall

[*d*] V. ſupra, p. 37.
[*e*] Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13. § 3.
[*f*] Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

burn wilfully any houſe, or barn with corn; ſo that an excellent reformation was hereby made in regard to crimes, and the privilege judiciouſly limited and confined. It was reſtrained again, 1 Edward VI. when horſe-ſtealers, takers of goods out of churches, and ſuch as refuſed to plead, were excluded.

Queen Mary, on the re-eſtabliſhment of popery, reſtored the rite of ſanctuary at Weſtminſter to its wonted vigour [*g*]; but in the next reign, A. D. 1566, a bill was brought in to take away ſanctuary for debt, but it miſcarried [*b*]. By ſtatute 1 James I. c. 25. § 34. the old uſage of ſanctuary was totally aboliſhed. The name, *Aſylum*, has been of late revived, and imparted to a very laudable and benevolent foundation of a very different kind.

I beg your Lordſhip's indulgence and pardon for ingroſſing your time and patience with a detail of ſuch enormous length. I have the honour of being,

My Lord,

your Lordſhip's

moſt obedient ſervant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[*g*] Strype, Mem. III. p. 310. 383.
[*b*] Widmore, Hiſtory of Weſtminſter Abbey, p. 141.

II. *Reaſons*

II. *Reaſons for doubting whether the Genii of particular Perſons or Lares properly ſo called be really* Panthea [*a*].

By Francis Philip Gourdin, *a Benedictine of the Congregation of* St. Maur, *Librarian of the Abbey of* St. Ouen, *Member of the Royal Academy of* Rouen, *and of the Literary Society of* Boulogne, *and honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of* London.

Read April 7, 1785.

AN inſcription which we find in the Vigna Giuſtiniani at Rome contains theſe words; "Signum æreum *Panthéum* [*b*]." The exiſtence of *Panthéa* is therefore certain. But what is it that conſtitutes a *Panthéum?* Upon this point we have nothing but conjecture to guide us.

The following inſcriptions; "Herculi, Mercurio, et Sylvano et Divo Pantheo, ex voto," and this, "Herculi, Sylvano, ex voto," &c. might make us conjecture that the name of *Panthéum* was given to ſeveral gods combined together. Perhaps

[*a*] The words Panthéum, Panthéon, and Panthéa, may probably ſignify ſuch gods as have the ſymbols or attributes of ſeveral Deities belonging to them. See Dictionaire de Mythologie.

[*b*] See alſo two in Gruter I. 5. 6. ſignum *Panthéi* et ſignum *Panthéum*.

it might be ſufficient that they were placed on the ſame pedeſtal, as the following inſcription ſeems to indicate: "Signum Sylvani et Herculis cum baſi impenſâ ſuâ poſuit dedicavitque VIII Kal. Jul. Sura."

Gregorio Girardi, in his Treatiſe "de Diis Gentium," Edit. Baſil. recites an Epigram of *Auſonius* concerning Bacchus, which gives a very remarkable etymology of the word *Panthéus*. The Epigram is this:

Ogygia me Bacchum vocat,
Myſi Phanacem nominant,
Romana ſacra Liberum,
Oſirim Ægyptus putat,
Dionyſon Indi exiſtimant,
Arabica gens Adoneum,
Lucaniacus ſed *Pantheum*.

Thus, according to this Epigram, they call a god who had different functions, names, and worſhip, a *Panthéus*. The following inſcription ſeems to confirm this opinion: "Fortunæ primigeniæ ſignum Liberi Patris Panthei cum ſuis parergis, &c." The laſt words, with his attributes, his peculiar ornaments, ſhew ſufficiently that Bacchus is not called *Panthéus* here becauſe he bears the attributes of any other Deities. The word *ſuis* takes away every doubt; and we may believe it was the intention of the perſon who made the inſcription, and that he was deſirous to prevent any change by the word *ſuis*; ſince in another inſcription we read ſimply: "Venerem Auguſti cum parergo, &c."

It appears therefore not eaſy to determine what the ancients meant by thoſe expreſſions; "Signa Panthea, Divus Pantheus."

Let us enquire however if this appellation belong to the Dii Lares properly ſo called, to the domeſtic gods, *Dii Domeſtici*. I think I have ſome reaſon to doubt this.

1. Becauſe

1. Becauſe it is not only very eaſy, but ſtill more natural, to give ſome account of their attributes without regarding them as belonging to other Deities.

2. Becauſe it implies a contradiction that thoſe attributes ſhould belong to other Deities.

In figures which we call Panthéa, whether thoſe of Genii, or of Deæ Matres, the moſt common attributes which we meet with are, the modius or meaſure of *Serapis*, the lotus' flower of Iſis, the cornucopiae of Fortune, the rudder of Neptune, ſometimes the thunder of Jupiter upon that rudder, as in one of the Deæ Matres of M. De la Chauſſe, the knotted ſtaff of Æſculapius, or ſimply the ſerpent of Hygeia, and laſtly the quiver of Diana. One may aſſign a reaſon for all thoſe attributes without regarding them as a repreſentation of each of the deities to which they belong. And it is in the "Science des Medailles," 1739, that we ſhall find an explanation of the ſymbols which appear abſolutely peculiar to the domeſtic gods.

The meaſure denotes Providence, which performs nothing but in weight and meaſure [*c*]. The flower of the Lotus expreſſes longevity and immortality [*d*]. The Cornucopiae, felicity and every bleſſing [*e*]. The rudder repreſents the authority of the Lares, to whoſe protection we are committed. And the thunder upon him who holds the figure above mentioned ſeems to ſignify a vow, or thankſgiving for having been preſerved from lightning, or becauſe the thunder-bolt had fallen on a certain ſpot without doing any damage. Thus we may ſee in ſome medals the thunder repreſented on the *Puteal* to point out,

[*c*] Science des Med. II. p. 368
[*d*] Ib. p. 392.
[*e*] Ib. p. 377.

ſays

ſays M. Moreau de Mautour [*f*], that the lightning had fallen on that ſpot.

The ſtaff of Æſculapius, or the ſerpent of Hygeia, ſignifies health, the firſt and greateſt of all bleſſings.

As to the quiver of Diana, though I might infer with Natalis Comes that it ſignifies the conſecration of the Lares to Diana, as he gives no proof of this, I chuſe rather to confeſs my ignorance. But the inſufficiency of one who has only at a diſtance ſaluted the porch of a temple on the gates of which is written, "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo," can prove nothing. I might ſay that in this attribute as in many others, we need not ſeek any other reaſon than the fancy of the workman as Montfaucon [*g*] relates in regard to a monument that repreſents the judgment of Paris, in which Venus and Juno are armed with a lance, and Cupid is near Minerva, and ſeems to converſe with her.

To prove that the attributes of the Dii domeſtici are no more than ſymbols, I could bring many examples of the ſame kind; as for inſtance, that Cupid which we ſee in Montfaucon [*h*] with one finger on his mouth, who holds a Cornucopia, and carries on his head a ſort of drinking cup; or as Venus popularis, or the Dea Cypria of the Greeks in Maffei, who in one hand holds a thyrſus ſurrounded with vines and grapes, and crowned with ears of corn, and in the other three arrows; or that of La Chauſſe, who holds in her right hand two ears of corn, and a bunch of grapes in her left [*i*]. Shall we ſay that the ſymbols of Venus to which Terence alludes in the follow-

[*f*] Diſſertation on the God *Bonus Eventus*; Mem. of the Acad. des Inſc. & Belles Lettres, III. p. 94. 12°.

[*g*] Antiq. Expl. Vol. III. P. ii. b. iii. c. 20. p. 108.

[*h*] Ib. pl. cxii. fig. 12.

[*i*] Ib. c. 18.

ing

ing verſe, "Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus," are really the attributes of thoſe Deities? and that thoſe Venuſes as well as that Cupid are Panthéa?

But it is not ſufficient merely to aſſign a cauſe for the attributes of the domeſtic gods in conſidering thoſe attributes as merely ſymbolical; this explication muſt likewiſe be the moſt *natural*.

The Lares, properly ſo called, were Genii. Every man (ſays M. Hardion in his Remarks on the 4th Idyll of Theocritus [*k*]), had a particular genius who watched over his actions from his birth to his death. Man, adds Mr. l'Abbé Maſſieu [*l*], being continually dependant on thoſe powers, ought to invoke them in prayer, and to honour them by ſacrifices.

In the number of genii we ought to place the Deæ Matres, called in inſcriptions, Matres, Heræ, Dominæ; for whom the Gauls and Germans, who had borrowed them from the Romans, as they had done from the Greeks, had a ſingular veneration. There is no doubt, ſays Abbé Banier in his Diſſertation on the Deæ Matres [*m*], that theſe goddeſſes were of the number of genii, ſince they were genii of thoſe places where they were worſhiped. I ſay it is natural to look upon the attributes of Genii or Deæ Matres as perſonal attributes, as particular ſymbols, proper and characteriſtic, and not as belonging to any other deities.

We ought to regard thoſe deities as tutelary and propitious gods, able to load us with benefits, to procure for us happineſs, health, and long life, ſignified by the horn of plenty, the ſerpent, the lotus; we ought to beg of them to *conduct* us in every circumſtance of life, as the *rudder* implies, ſince they alone can, as the *meaſure* declares, conduct us with *prudence*.

[*k*] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſc. VI. 240.
[*l*] Parallele d'Homere et de Platon. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſc. II. p. 8. 12°.
[*m*] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſc. X. 75.

This explanation is ſo much the more natural as it aſſigns a reaſon for all and each of the functions of thoſe domeſtic gods, and for the worſhip which we ought to pay them.

The explanation which has recourſe to the attributes of other gods, which makes of Genii and Deæ Matres ſo many *Panthea*, is certainly neither ſo ſimple nor ſo natural, and always leaves the queſtion without a ſatisfactory reply: "Why do the ſame attributes occur in all the *Panthéa?* and whence proceeds that uniformity which only varies either more or leſs?"

But this is not all. I have maintained that the explanation which makes Genii and Deæ Matres charged with different attributes ſo many *Panthéa*, implies an abſolute contradiction. This is what I ſhall endeavour to ſhew.

I have undertaken to ſolve one of the greateſt problems which the ſtudy of Pagan theology affords, viz. whether the Dii Majores were ever to be reckoned *Lares* properly ſo called. If I can prove they were never regarded as ſuch, I ſhall have ſhewn that the attributes which were thought to repreſent them, and which make them the ſame with the Dii Domeſtici, cannot belong to them.

The dogſkin which covers the greater part of the pretended *Panthéa* leaves no room to doubt that they were Genii or Deæ Matres. Antiquaries are univerſally agreed in this opinion. Vincent Chatardi, whoſe Italian work has been tranſlated into Latin by Ant. du Verdier under the title of "Imagines Deorum qui ab antiquis colebantur, Lyon. 1681," 4°, after having ſaid the ſame thing, p. 298, adds that evil Genii were cloathed with the ſkin of a wolf, and relates on this occaſion, after Pauſanias, the hiſtory of the wreſtler Euthymus.

The Genii, ſays Mr. Maſſieu in the paſſage already cited, were beings in ſubjection to the Supreme Being. By this appellation we may underſtand Jupiter, Neptune, Mars, &c. who according to ſeveral moderns after Macrobius, as Montfaucon remarks,

remarks [*n*], were in effect the ſame thing, the ſame deity, i. e. the ſun adored under different names.

The Genii, ſays M. Baudelot [*o*], are never the gods of the country, that is to ſay, they are inferior to them; in proof of which, they are ſometimes themſelves offered up to the higher order of deities, as this inſcription imports:

"Iſidi ſignum Harpocratis C. Didius Acutianus D. D."

To confound the Dii Majores with the inferior gods, to pretend that the Lares properly ſo called, to whom private vows are addreſſed, and private ſacrifices made, to whom, in ſhort, as M. Baudelot [*p*] confeſſes, we give the preference in our devotions, ſhould be adorned with the attributes of the ſuperior deities, is in ſome ſenſe degrading thoſe deities, and conſidering them as inferior to the Lares themſelves, and leſs powerful.

The whole force of this objection has been felt; and it has been pretended that the great gods, and even Jupiter himſelf, have been placed in the rank of Lares and Penates, becauſe Lares and Penates were the ſame thing and ſynonymous names. M. Baudelot, who loves to conſider them as ſuch, and to confound them, cites a paſſage from Arnobius (l. iii. adv. Gentes, p. 123, ed. Elmenh.) "Nigidius in libro 6to exponit et decimo, diſciplinas Etruſcas ſequens, genera eſſe Penatium quatuor, et eſſe Jovis ex illis alios, alios Neptuni, Inferorum tertios, mortalium hominum quartos."

It is on this paſſage of Arnobius the ſyſtem of thoſe who place the Dii Majores in the rank of Penates, i. e. as they underſtand it in the rank of domeſtic deities, is founded.

In fact, Arnobius, ſays Montfaucon [*q*], is the firſt author who has advanced this ſentiment, and we find no traces of it in more ancient authors.

[*n*] V. I. p. ii. b. iv. c. 8. p. 388.
[*o*] Utilité des Voyages, I. p. 218.
[*p*] Ib. p. 255.
[*q*] Ubi ſup. I. ii. p. 325.

After this confeſſion, we may the more eaſily reject this opinion, as the authority of Arnobius is not in all reſpects to be relied upon. To be convinced of this truth conſult not Bayle's Dictionary, but the little Diſſertation of Pere Merlin the Jeſuit, in which he vindicates Arnobius from the calumnies of Bayle [*r*].

But, on reading the paſſage itſelf in Arnobius, we ſhall be convinced of the weakneſs of making this the baſis of a ſyſtem unknown to all the writers of antiquity.

Arnobius, who lived at the beginning of the fourth century, embraced the Chriſtian faith, and was only a Catechumen when he exerciſed his zeal in writing againſt the Pagans. He reproaches them with incoherence, obſcurity, uncertainty in their opinions and in their worſhip. This is ſo true, that after the laſt words of the paſſage cited by M. Baudelot, there is no ſtop in the text, and it goes on; "inexplicabile neſcio quid dicens." There have been ſome writers, he adds, who have written that there exiſts a Jupiter, a Juno, a Minerva, Dii Penates; without whom we cannot live or exerciſe our faculties, and who diſpenſe reaſon, heat, and life? but ſays he, all this you may perceive does not follow, "nihil concinens dicitur [*s*]." He concludes that ſo many contradictions prove the falſity of their opinions, "Ita enim labant ſententiæ, alteraque opinio ab alterâ convellitur, ut aut nihil ex omnibus verum ſit, aut, ſi ab aliquo dicitur, tot rerum diverſitatibus neſciatur."

Arnobius and many others think the word *penates* may be thus rendered, "qui penitus regit." Hyginus cited by Macrobius (Saturn. III. 4.) calls them τὰς πάντων. The Penates then

[*r*] Memoires de Trevoux Apr. et May 1736.

[*s*] Nec defuerunt qui ſcriberent Jovem, Junonem, ac Minervam, Deos Penates exiſtere, ſine quibus vivere ac ſapere nequeamus, et qui penitus nos regant ratione, calore, ac ſpiritu. Ut videtis, et hic quoque nihil concinens dicitur, &c.

Compare alſo Macrob. Sat. III. c. 4.

are not the same as the Lares which were called ἑστια, foci, or θεοι καλοικιδιοι, Dii Domestici. Ovid Fast. l. II. v. 615. says the same:

Et vigilant nostrâ semper in æde Lares.

Lastly, A passage in Dionysius Halicarnassensis clears up every difficulty; I mean the last words of Coriolanus to his mother [*t*], "Et vos, o Dii Penates et Lares Patrii, ἑστια πατρια, Geniique Loci Præsides, valete." Here he distinguishes the Penates, Lares, and Genii of the place.

I am not ignorant that the domestic Genii, which are the true and only Lares, have been sometimes called *Penates*, "quia penitus regunt," but improperly, and that word appears sacred to the tutelar gods of cities, and nations, as may be seen in Virgil, Æn. II. 294.

Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troja *Penates*;
Hos cape fatorum comites, his *mœnia* quære . . . . .
Sic ait, & manibus vittas, Vestamque potentem,
Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.

I will no longer deny that the name of Lares has been given to the Dii Majores. Who, it will be said, after having read the learned Dissertation of M. Baudelot, can doubt that they were real Lares? But let us examine some of his proofs, and we shall see they are not so conclusive as is supposed.

In proof of what he has advanced he cites, page 212, that invocation of Decius, when, being consul in the war with the Latins, he devoted himself to death for the preservation of his country: "Jane, Jupiter, Mars Pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, Dii Novensiles, Dii Indigetes." You see, he observes, how after having named four or five gods, he comprehends them altogether under the name of *Lares*. If M. Baudelot had

[*t*] L. VIII. p. 213. ed. Francofurti, 1586.

given

given us the end of this invocation, we ſhould have ſeen that his concluſion was falſe, ſince Decius after that enumeration compriſes all the deities in theſe terms only: "Divi quorum eſt poteſtas noſtrorum hoſtiumque [*u*]."

We have obſerved above, that M. Baudelot may be juſtly blamed for having carefully removed from his quotations all that might prejudice his ſyſtem. He goes ſtill farther in his explanation of the following inſcription, "Eteitius Alypus Jovi D. D." which he thus renders, Eteitius Alypus dedicates this lamp to *domeſtic Jupiter*, as if in every conſecration, in every dedication, theſe two letters D. D. did not always and every where ſignify *dono dedit*.

Notwithſtanding the weakneſs of theſe proofs, if they really deſerve that name, I will agree with M. Baudelot, that they ſometimes gave the name of Lares to the Dii Majores, and acknowledge that in ſome inſcriptions they have the epithet *domeſtic* given them; but I am not yet perſuaded thoſe names are not improperly aſſigned, and we can by no means conclude from thence that the Dii Majores have ever been confounded with the Dii Lares. Whence then are derived the proper qualifications of the Dii Lares, or domeſtic gods? This will preſently appear.

There was in every houſe, at leaſt in houſes of any diſtinction, a ſanctuary called *Penetrale*, in which were placed the Lares properly ſo called, whence it took the name of *Lararium*. We find in Athenagoras [*w*] a deſcription of Lararia of that ſort. It is thus expreſſed in an ancient tranſlation, which is the more valuable, as the original appears to be loſt.

"At the requeſt of his hoſteſs the Poletes carried her thither, being followed by one of his maid ſervants into a cloſet, after

[*u*] Livy, VIII. c. 9.
[*w*] Du vrai et parfait amour, Par. 1612, 12°.

having

having paſſed through a long alley which ſerved as a paſſage and entry to two or three rooms following one another. That place was only 12 feet ſquare, vaulted with ſtone, and very dark, ſo that it was with great difficulty one could diſcover the form of thoſe penates, which were made of wood, two feet high, and placed in two niches. They repreſented two young men, and were covered with dog-ſkins; before them ſtood a ſmall altar, &c."

The Lararium was a place conſecrated to prayer and ſacrifice, which they addreſſed not only to the Lares, but alſo to the greater gods, ſince the Poletes' gueſt was deſirous of returning thanks to *Neptune*, whoſe image was not to be ſeen there.

It was commonly in this ſanctuary that the images of gods or heroes, whichever they might be, were placed, as that paſſage of Suetonius [*x*] proves, which ſays, ſpeaking of L. Vitellius, father to the emperor of the ſame name, that he placed amongſt his Lares the golden ſtatues of Narciſſus and of Pallas: "Narciſſi quoque et Pallantis imagines aureas inter Lares coluit." What proves that the word *inter* here does not ſignify the ſame as *ſicut*, is a paſſage of the ſame author: ſpeaking of the reſpect Capitolinus had for his maſters, he ſays, that he had placed their images in gold in or within the place where his Lares ſtood, "in Lararium haberet."

Though the Lararium was a place particularly ſet apart for the particular worſhip of the houſhold gods, they placed there not only their images but thoſe of the Dii Majores, as this verſe of Juvenal, Sat. XII. 82, proves,

Hic noſtrum placabo Jovem, laribuſque paternis
Thura dabo.

[*x*] Vitel. c. 2.

Upon

Upon which account, ſays Feſtus [*y*], they called them "Dii Penetrales." But one may farther ſee that they kept there as in a place of ſecurity the ſtatues of reſpectable men, without paying them any worſhip. This the following paſſage of Lampridius abſolutely proves. "Uſus vivendi eidem (Alex. Severo) hic fuit. Primùm ſi facultas eſſet, id eſt, ſi non cum muliere cubuiſſet, matutinis horis in Lararío ſuo (in quo et divos principes, ſed optimos, electos, et animas ſanctiores, in queis et Apollonium, et, quantum ſcriptor ſuorum temporum dicit, Chriſtum, Abraham, et Orpheum, et hujuſcemodi Deos habebat, ac majorum effigies) rem divinam faciebat [*z*]."

I think therefore I have reaſon on my ſide when I ſay that the name of *Lares* and Dii Domeſtici was only beſtowed on the Dii Majores, becauſe their images were placed in houſes in the Lararium; but that they never confounded them with the Lares properly ſo called.

And in proof of this I alledge that they never covered them, as far as I know, with dog-ſkins, the diſtinctive mark, the perſonal and eſſential attribute of Lares properly ſo called.

It implies a contradiction therefore to place them in the rank of thoſe inferior deities; it is ſtill more contradictory to degrade them even below thoſe deities, by adorning the latter with the particular attributes of the Dii Majores.

I ſhall not here repeat that it is a more eaſy, more natural and ſimple ſolution to look upon thoſe attributes as ſymbols. This is no longer neceſſary to conclude that the doubts I have ſuggeſted are juſt and well-founded.

[*y*] Lib. VIII and XIV. de verb. ſignif.

[*z*] Hiſt. Rom. Script. Latini veteres, P. II. p. 349. col. 2. Lamprid. vit. Alex. Sev. c. 29.

Rouen,
July 27, 1783.

An

*** An altar found at Riechester in Northumberland [*a*] is inscribed SILVANO PANTHEO, on which Mr. Horsley has these observations:

"It is common now to give the name of *Pantheus* to the figure of any god who has the symbols of other gods joined with his own. And in some inscriptions *Pantheus* is spoken of as a particular god. Thus we have in Gruter [*b*],

SIGNVM PANTHEI TESTAMENTO FIERI IVSSIT.

and

SIGNVM PANTHEVM SVA PECVNIA D. D.

also

PANTHEO AVG.

and

HERCULI, MERCVRIO, ET SILVANO SACRVM ET DIVO PANTHEO.

Dio Cassus informs us that Drusilla was called *Panthea* from the variety of divine honours which her brother Caligula ordered to be paid to her after her death [*c*]. A late ingenious friend conjectured that the expression SILVANO PANTHEO might denote the whole groupe of *silvan* deities;

Faunique satyrique et monticolæ silvani [*d*]
Et quoscunque deos umbrosaque silva feraxque
Rus habet [*e*].

On this the late Professor Ward has this MS. note:

"I suppose *Pantheum* in all these places is used as in the modern sense, and in the second instance *adjectively*."

[*a*] Horsley, Northumb. xcvi. p. 243.
[*b*] I. 5. 6.
[*c*] LIX. p. 648.
[*d*] Ovid, Metam. I. 193.
[*e*] Ib. 693.

III. *Obſervations by the Rev. Mr.* Pegge *on the* Stanton-Moor *Urns, and Druidical Temple. In a Letter to Major* Rooke.

Read November 2, 1785.

SIR,

AFTER returning you my beſt thanks for the favour of your letter of Nov. 27, 1784, wherein you are ſo obliging as to impart to me an account of your late and further diſcoveries of antiquities on *Stanton-Moor* in the county of Derby, with drawings of the urns which you was then ſo fortunate as to find, I ſhould be wanting in gratitude did I not communicate to you, in return, my ſentiments upon them, in hope that they may prove acceptable to you.

The diſcovery was indeed moſt fortunate and extraordinary, as I do not recollect, at preſent, one ſingle inſtance beſides this, amongſt all the diſcoveries that have been made in this iſland relative to hydriotaphy, wherein one urn was found incloſed, or buried as it were, within another. *Meric Caſaubon* informs us [*a*], that *veſſels* of various kinds had been found *within*, or *near* the larger urns dug up at *Newington* in *Kent*; and it is well known, that an immenſe variety of other articles have been found included in the larger and more capacious urns [*b*].

[*a*] Notes on Marc. Aurel. Antonin. p. 43.

[*b*] Vide, inter alios, Caſaubon, l. c. Sir Tho. Brown, p. 6. 9. Mr. Philipot, Villare Cant. p. 250. Montfaucon, vol. V. p. 51. and ſo for money in particular. See Weever, p. 516. Philipot, l. c. and Archaeologia, vol. II. p. 181.

We

We read again of *family-urns* [*c*], which neceſſarily muſt be of greater content than common; but nevertheleſs, theſe do not appear to have had ſmaller urns with burnt bones incloſed in them, as this of yours had, but only to contain the bones and aſhes of ſeveral perſons all mixed together; though it ſeems the aſhes were not always mixed [*d*]. Beſides, *P. Montfaucon* ſpeaks of holes being made in the covers of urns at *Rome*, for the introduction of the bones and aſhes of ſubſequent ſubjects, viz. the remains of 2d, 3d, 4th, or even of 5th bodies [*e*].

The mention of theſe large family-urns, reminds me of a Roman veſſel I bought, many years ago, at the ſale of the effects of *John Godfrey*, Eſq. of *Norton-Court*, *Kent*, 1742, and of which there is a print in Dr. *Harris's* Hiſtory of *Kent*, p. 218. It came from the grand repoſitory, or pottery, at *Newington* in *Kent* [*f*], and is ſaid by Dr. Harris to contain *near a buſhel*, but it holds only forty-four pints. He alſo calls it *an urn*, but as it is ſo large, has not much the figure of an urn [*g*], and has had handles to it, I rather eſteem it a veſſel of ſome other kind, perhaps for wine [*h*], or rather fruit, the mouth being ſo wide.

But to return; the only inſtance of the kind of your urn that has occurred to me, is in *Denmark*, where, as *Wormius* tells us [*i*], "Inventa eſt una [urna] cinerei coloris, quæ in ſe *mino-*

[*c*] Sir Tho. Brown, p. 14. Dr. Plott, Nat. Hiſt. of Oxfordſh. p. 328. Philipot, p. 249. Montfaucon, vol. V. paſſim. Dr. Harris, Hiſt. of Kent, p. 218.

[*d*] Montfaucon, p. 63.

[*e*] Id. ibid. See alſo Gent. Magaz. 1784, p. 962, for ſeveral bodies interred in one barrow.

[*f*] See above the note from Meric Caſaubon.

[*g*] See the print in Dr. Harris.

[*h*] Batteley, Antiq. Rutup. p. 107.

[*i*] Wormii Muſ. p. 349.

'*rem continebat* ex puriore argillâ elaboratam, coloris nigri, 'politam, ut ex fragmentis, quæ teneo, conſtat.' i. e. 'An urn 'of an aſh colour was found, which *contained a ſmaller one* '*within it*, compoſed of finer clay, black and poliſhed, as ap-'pears from the fragments in my poſſeſſion.'

In regard to the people or nation, to whom, Sir, we may ſuppoſe your urn to belong, the Britons, if not before yet certainly after they were romanized, uſed urn-burial [*k*]; and therefore one has good reaſon to imagine, conſidering where the urn was found, viz. in the midſt of ſo many *Druidical* monuments as are to be ſeen on *Stanton-Moor*, it appertains to them. The bones and aſhes in the two urns may poſſibly be thoſe of a child and its mother dying about the ſame time, or of a woman who died in child-bed, &c. But all conjectures on this ſubject muſt be ſo vague and uncertain, that it is beſt to leave every one at liberty to form their own notions on this ſo very uncommon a phænomenon.

Having thus diſpatched, Sir, what I had to ſay concerning your urns, and the very rare and curious circumſtance of incloſure attending them, it may be proper, for a concluſion, to add a word on the *diagram* which accompanied them, and repreſents a plan of the ground where they were found; and the rather, as reference has above been made to thoſe Druidical monuments expreſſed in the diagram. The poſitions, Sir, of the circles and barrows are, in my opinion, as ſingular and remarkable as the urns themſelves.

The firſt obſervable is, that the circles, N° 1 and 2, Pl. I. ſtand in a right line, being connected as it were by the ſingle ſtone

[*k*] This, I find, is the opinion of moſt of thoſe who have been converſant in theſe matters, as Montfaucon, VII. p. 288. Sir Thomas Brown, p. 10. Camden, col. 1408. edit. Gibſon. Philipot, Villare, p. 251.

N° 3 [*l*], ſtanding in the line, and from which the circles are equidiſtant, viz. each two hundred and twenty-five paced yards. The barrow, in which the urns were found is within the circle N° 1, and marked with the letter a. In fig. 4, this circle is given on a larger ſcale; it is nine yards, one foot diameter, but N° 2, at the end of the line, and repreſented alſo on a larger ſcale, is not leſs than ſixteen yards acroſs. We may note further, that the connecting ſtone, as I call it, is but thirty-four paced yards weſt of the temple, as you term it, or the Nine Ladies [*m*], N° 5, ſo that the circles N° 1 and 2, are alſo at equal diſtances from the temple.

The next thing to be remarked is, that the barrows, N° 6 and 7, and the circle N° 8, appear again to range alſo in a line; and that N° 6 is two hundred and ſixty paced yards diſtant from N° 7, and this laſt the ſame from the circle N° 8, which is here alſo exhibited on a larger ſcale, fig. 8. and is eleven yards in diameter. Laſtly the barrow, N° 9, ſtands in a line with N° 6, 7, 8, that is, at the termination of the line, and is diſtant one hundred paced yards from the laſt mentioned N° 8.

Surely, Sir, there is ſomething very myſterious in theſe arrangements. One can never ſuppoſe theſe Druidical monuments could be thus *fortuitouſly* placed; that would be too wonderful a coincidence; but upon what plan, deſign, or ſyſtem, the Druids proceeded in forming this group of Britiſh antiquities, I cannot pretend to explain; let others, more ſagacious, divine, taking this along with them at the ſame time, that N° 1 and 6, are pretty near N. and S. of each other.

I am, Sir, your moſt obedient,

SAM. PEGGE.

[*l*] This ſtone is called by the country people, *the king*, and there is a drawing of it in Archaeologia, vol. VI. p. 112. Plate XV. 7.

[*m*] See again, Archaeologia, VI. p. 113. Ib.

P. S.

P. S. I have omitted to note, and I beg pardon for the omiſſion, that in a draught of your ſmaller urn, as big as the original, which you ſhewed me, I remarked two ſmall perforations in the ſide, under the ornamental border at the top; and I think you ſaid there were two ſimilar ones on the other ſide of the urn, and nearly oppoſite. This particular is to me as aſtoniſhing and as unaccountable as any one of the foregoing circumſtances.

Since this, Major Rooke being deſirous of examining the ſmall barrows, opened one that was within the circle marked (8) in the plan, in which he found an urn of coarſe thin clay, full of burnt bones, and upon them lay a very ſingular Druidical remain, in appearance of mountain pitch, very hard and light, and of the ſize of the drawing. Conſidering the figure, which is that of a heart, and the perforation at the top evidently made by a tool, we cannot but eſteem it a Britiſh amulet.

N° 1. pl. I. is an urn of coarſe clay taken out of a ſmall barrow on *Stanton Moor* marked *a* in the plan: circumference three feet, three inches; height ten inches. Within this urn was a ſmall one N° 2 covered with a piece of clay, N° 3. In the ſame barrow were two more urns ſimilar to the above.

N° 4. The ſize of the ſmall urn taken out of N° 1. This is not only the type of the ſmall urn in its true dimenſions, but the drawing expreſſed the colour of it alſo.

IV. *An Account of ſome Stone Coffins, and Skeletons, found on making ſome Alterations and Repairs in* Cambridge *Caſtle. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr.* Lort. *By the Rev.* Robert Maſters, *B. D. F. S. A. Rector of* Landbeach.

Read December 1, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

WELL knowing your taſte for antiquities in general, and in particular for ſuch as bear any relation to Cambridge, a place to which you have always had a ſingular attachment, I take the liberty of communicating to you, by the hands of our moſt reſpectable friend George Steevens, Eſq. a diſcovery lately made there, and through you to the worthy Society of Antiquaries, of which I have long had the honour of being a member.

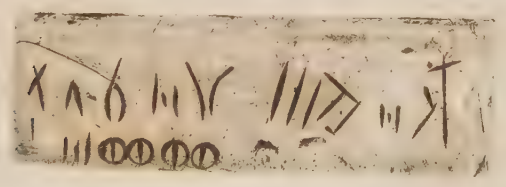
Some time in Auguſt laſt, as the workmen (who have been employed for more than twelve months, in making ſuch additions and improvements in Cambridge Caſtle, as were deemed neceſſary for rendering it more commodious and healthful for the unfortunate inhabitants deſtined to abide therein), were engaged in removing earth and levelling ramparts on the South ſide thereof, they diſcovered two ſtone coffins, lying nearly Eaſt and Weſt, about feet under the ſurface, and almoſt upon a level with the preſent area, within the precincts, under the wall of the old ſtone ſtaircaſe, now unfortunately demoliſhed, to make way for a modern one of brick. The firſt was ſix feet

ten inches long, but within only ſix feet two inches. Its breadth in the wideſt part two feet two inches, but at the feet one foot three inches. The depth was nine inches, and the ſtone hollowed to the ſhape of the head, under which was found the plate accompanying this, in a cavity cut in ſtone to receive it. The cover ſeems to have been a plain ſtone, and the coffin itſelf cracked either in removing or through length of time. The other was only ſix feet long, its breadth one foot eleven inches, and at the feet one foot one inch, the depth as above nine inches. The cover of this had a ſort of double croſs upon it, with ſomewhat like chain-work running up each ſide: but, what is remarkable, the upper tranſept was not, as uſual, a ſtrait line, but part of a circle, which ſeems to have been compleated on a ſtone lying at the head of the coffin; which however had been otherwiſe employed, ſo that a ſight of it could not be obtained. The ſkeletons included in them, are ſaid to have been entire when firſt opened, but upon being expoſed to the air and touch, ſoon loſt their form, and are now only a parcel of deranged and ſcattered bones. The preſent Goal here was only the gateway to the old caſtle (as its ſtructure evinces) which ſtood at ſome diſtance from it, as the ſmall remains of it ſtill viſible behind the Bridewell, plainly ſhew, and was probably much older than this, which architects have judged to have been erected about the time of Edward the Firſt; when the old one might be repaired, if it was one of thoſe demoliſhed by king Stephen, in whoſe reign it was bravely attacked by Geoffry de Mandeville earl of Eſſex, who loſt his life before it, being ſhot through the head with an arrow. Its final demolition however may be aſcribed to queen Mary, who beſtowed the greateſt part of it upon her favourite Sir John Huddleſton, who built a conſiderable part of his large houſe at Sawſton with its ſtones. Under the old ſtone ſtairs (near which as I obſerved before

before the coffins were found) leading to the apartments over the gateway, were two ſkulls depoſited, and in removing ſome part of the ramparts on the North ſide two ſkeletons likewiſe were found this ſummer; ſo that I cannot help thinking, the room over the gateway was made uſe of as a chapel to the caſtle, and the ground on the Eaſt, North and South conſecrated for a place of burial, otherwiſe the church of All Saints at the Caſtle, adjoining to the ramparts (ſome remains of which I well remember, although now entirely demoliſhed) might have afforded ſufficient room for ſepulture. In this however I ſhould be glad to be favoured with the opinion of others, better judges than myſelf in theſe matters, and particularly of the ingenious Mr. King, who has made ſuch curious and acute enquiries into the ſtructure and allotment of apartments in ſuch kind of fabrics. I ſhall be happy in finding ſome ingenious member of the Society able to make out the inſcription on the plate, by which both the name of the perſon, and time of burial, will, I make no doubt, be aſcertained; and if any farther enquiries relative thereto ſhould be thought needful, you may freely command, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

ROB. MASTERS.



V. *A ſecond Letter from Mr.* Maſters *to* George Steevens, *Eſq. on the Stone Coffins found in repairing* Cambridge Caſtle.

Read December 1, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

Landbeach, Nov. 26, 1785.

WHEN I was at Cambridge on Thurſday laſt, Mr. Kerrich and I were ſummoned to the Caſtle to the opening of two more ſtone coffins lying very near the place where thoſe you ſaw had been depoſited, but nearer to the building, with the covering of another, part of which went under the foundation of the old wall of the ſtaircaſe, ſo that they ſeem to have been depoſited there before that building was erected. The feet of the coffins were ſunk much lower than the heads, which probably occaſioned their breaking. The bones laid in a regular order in each, with a ſtick of three quarters of an inch in diameter by the ſide of one of them, on which the hair upon the os pubis was very viſible; but as there was no inſcriptions to be met with under the ſkulls, nor any other memorials of the perſonages, to prevent their being ſcattered about as the others were, I ordered them to be covered down again immediately, without any farther diſturbance. The ſtick, now mere touch-wood (of which I have a piece about half a yard long) was probably an enſign of office, and might denote his being conſtable or keeper of the caſtle. The above may be added to the account of the others ſent to Dr. Lort by

Sir, your moſt obliged and obedient ſervant,

ROB. MASTERS.

VI. Miſcellaneous *Obſervations on* Pariſh Regiſters. *Addreſſed to the Honourable* Daines Barrington. *By* John Bowle, *F. S. A.*

Read December 8, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

YOU do not want to be informed that the introduction of PAROCHIAL REGISTERS was in conſequence of the injunctions of Thomas Lord Cromwell. From whence he formed his reſolution of bringing them into general uſe is not apparent; but their utility and advantage to poſterity could not eſcape his ſagacity and diſcernment. As he had lived abroad, and conſequently had much intercourſe with men of different countries, from theſe he might have formed his opinions, and at a fit ſeaſon have carried them into execution. The known period when this was done makes the ſuppoſition no ways improbable; it being certain that in *Spain* it had been in uſe many years before. Very few years have elapſed ſince the place where, and time when, the famous CERVANTES was born, and baptiſed, were known. Some Antiquaries of late among his countrymen have made it a point to inveſtigate the matter with preciſion and indiſputable certainty, by means of regiſters of churches ſtill in being. In that of St. Mary the Greater in the city of *Alcala de Henares*, which began in 1533, and ended in 1550, is a clauſe of the following tenor, viz. 'On Sunday the ninth day of the month of 'October, in the year of the Lord 1547, was baptiſed *Michael*,

'ſon of *Rodrigo de Cervantes*, and his wife *Dona Leonor*: his 'godfather was *John Pardo*: the reverend Sir Batchelor *Serrano* 'curate of our Lady baptiſed him: witneſs *Baltazar Vazquez* 'Sacriſtan, and I who baptiſed him, and ſubſcribed it by my 'name, the Batchelor *Serrano*.' Whether there was any preceding regiſter appears not. The evidences that prove to a demonſtration that it belongs to the author of Don Quixote are foreign to our purpoſe, notwithſtanding what follows, and is adduced to ſhew their earlier uſe in that kingdom. We have here a certificate from Don *Peter de Cordova* curate of the rector, prior of the parochial church of St. Mary of the town of *Alcazar de San Juan*, that in one of the books of baptiſms of the ſaid church, which began the 10th of September 1506, and ended February 18th, 1635, there is the following clauſe of this tenor. 'On the ninth of November 1558 the licenciate Sir 'Don *Alonſo Diaz Pajares* baptiſed a ſon of *Blas de Cervantes* '*Saavedra*, and of *Catherine Lopez*, whom he named *Michael*: 'his godfather at the font was *Melchior de Ortega*, attended by '*John de Quiros*, and *Francis Almendroz*, and their wives. The 'licentiate *Alonſo Diaz*.' On the margin of the ſaid clauſe there is written, as a note, as follows: 'This was the author of 'the Hiſtory of Don Quixote. This agrees with the original 'to which I refer: given in this town of *Alcazar de San Juan* 'the 28th of the month of Auguſt 1765, Don *Pedro de Cor-* '*doba*.' It is known with certainty by whom this marginal note was placed there in the year 1758. I have produced this ſecond evidence, to ſhew that regiſters were uſed in *Spain* thirty-two years before their introduction into this kingdom. Father Sarmiento, a learned Benedictine monk of St. Martin's in Madrid, who died a few years ſince, in his manuſcript account of the true birth-place of *Cervantes* (of which I poſſeſs a copy) § 105. blames ſuch marginal notes as theſe in the evidences of baptiſms,

baptiſms, totally rejecting their teſtimony, eſteeming it as an act of imprudence deſerving correction, that the pariſh prieſts ſhould ſuffer ſuch additions to be placed: at the ſame time he propoſes the having a diſtinct book, and that the pariſh prieſt ſhould place ſome evident notes, as they would be of ſervice for the hiſtory and honour of the place, and of its children baptiſed at its font. If I had authority, he adds, I would henceforward to all curates who ſhould take poſſeſſion of their livings intimate this moſt juſt and moſt uſeful law.

But to come home, and to ſurvey the ſtate of our regiſters hiſtorically. It is obſervable that the injunctions to the clergy made by lord *Cromwell*, of which we have a copy in biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, v. I. col. 167. are undated, both as to the year of the Lord, or of the king's reign. *Halle* in his Chronicle is quite ſilent in this matter. From *Hollinſhed* it appears, that they were ſet forth in September 1538, the thirtieth of that king. That of *Cromwell* concerning this buſineſs is as follows, viz. 'Item, That you and every parſon, vicar, or curate, within this dioceſs, ſhall for every church keep 'one book or regiſter, wherein he ſhall write the day and year 'of every wedding, chriſtening, and burying, made within your 'pariſh for your time, and ſo every man ſucceeding you likewiſe; and alſo there inſert every perſon's name that ſhall be 'ſo wedded, chriſtened, and buried; and for the ſafe keeping of 'the ſame book, the pariſh ſhall be bound to provide, of their 'common charges, one ſure coffer, with two locks and keys, 'whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the 'wardens of every ſuch pariſh wherein the ſaid book ſhall be 'laid up; which book *ye* ſhall every *Sunday* take forth, and in 'the preſence of the ſaid wardens, or one of them, write and 'record in the ſame all the weddings, chriſtenings, and burying, made the whole week afore; and that done to lay up

'the

'the book in the ſaid coffer, as afore; and for every time that 'the ſame ſhall be omitted, the party that ſhall be in the fault 'thereof ſhall forfeit to the ſaid church 3*s.* 4*d.* to be employed 'on the reparation of the ſaid church (170).' This underwent ſome change by Edward the Sixth, in 1547. By him it was injoined that the parſon, vicar, or curate, *and pariſhioners of every pariſh within this realm*, ſhall, in their churches *and chapels*, keep one book or regiſter. The pecuniary mulct for omiſſion was directed *to be employed to the poor men's box of the pariſh.* In thoſe of the firſt year of queen Elizabeth (§ 10.) one half is to be employed as here, the other half towards the repairing of the church. In archbiſhop Cranmer's Articles of Viſitation, anno 2° of king Edward, there are two, viz. whether they have one book or regiſter ſafely kept, and whether every pariſh have provided a cheſt with two locks and keys for the ſame. This occurs in thoſe of the firſt year of the queen, ſaving, that nothing is ſaid of the cheſt. But probably this was not there mentioned, as it was particularly ſpecified in the injunctions of the ſame year. Among theſe articles of enquiry are ſome that may be looked on as temporary ſettlements. '*Item*, How 'many perſons for religion have died by fire, famine, or other-'wiſe, or have been impriſoned for the ſame? *Item*, that you 'make a true preſentment of the number of all the perſons, 'which died within your pariſhes ſithence the feaſt of St. John 'Baptiſt, which was in the year of our Lord God 1558, unto 'the feaſt laſt paſt, making therein a plain diſtinct declaration, 'how many men, women, and men-children, the ſame were, 'and the names of the men.' In ſome articles printed 1564, among the proteſtations made by the clergy, at their admiſſion to their cures, was the following: 'I ſhall keep the regiſter 'book according to the queen's majeſties injunctions.' It is to be remarked, that in none of theſe any thing is ſaid of god-

fathers'

fathers' and god-mothers' names being entered at baptiſms as ſponſors. In thoſe of the year 1564, 'The parent may be 'preſent, or abſent, but not to anſwer as god-father or god-'mother, except the *child* hath received the communion [*a*].' Among cardinal *Pole's* Articles touching the clergy, 1557, was one, 'whether they do keep the book or regiſter of chriſtening, 'burying and marriages, with *the names of the god-fathers and* '*god-mothers* [*b*].' As I have diſcovered nothing of this kind elſewhere from authority, it may be ſuppoſed to have originated from his own ſuggeſtions [*c*].

I muſt now take a long ſtep in point of time, having diſcovered nothing material on this head till the publiſhing of the canons in 1603. The ſeventieth of theſe, beſides reciting what is above advanced, directs the miniſter and churchwardens to ſubſcribe their names unto every page; and orders the latter to ſend annually a true copy of the names of all perſons chriſtened, married or buried within one month after the twenty-fifth of March, ſubſcribed with their hands. To this canon we owe the *Huc Uſque* ſo general in all ſince that period. In the ordinance for the aboliſhing the Common Prayer, and uſing the Directory, the regiſter of velim was directed to be kept by the miniſter and other officers of the church; the names of all children baptized, and of their parents, the time of their *birth* and baptiſm: the names of all perſons married, the times of the deaths and burials vary but little, ſave only in the addition of

[*a*] The ſeveral citations above are from biſhop Sparrow.

[*b*] Fox, ad an.

[*c*] Indifferent cuſtoms when once began do not ceaſe preſently. Three inſtances of this practice in 1564, 1565, and 1579, are to be found in the regiſter of Thatcham, Berks. Hearne's Glaſtonbury, 272, 3. Jane Tutt the daughter of Mr. Alex. Tutt the younger was baptized Dec. 29, 1611, my lady Tutt and Mrs. Colepepper, god-mothers, and Mr. Grove, god-father. Idmiſton regiſter.

births.

births. The act commonly aſcribed to *Barebones*, and named after him, which paſſed 24 Auguſt 1659, was regularly attended to during the Uſurpation. The banns of marriage publiſhed three ſeveral Lord's days in the public meeting-houſe, commonly called the church or chapel, or on three market days, at the option of the parties, in the market place next to the ſaid church or chapel, were regularly entered. The ſafe keeping of the regiſter-book was entruſted to ſome able and honeſt perſon, ſworn and approved by one juſtice of the peace: the perſon elected, approved, and ſworn, was called the pariſh regiſter, and attended the juſtice to ſubſcribe the entry of every marriage. Various inconveniences muſt neceſſarily have ariſen from this act. In many caſes the parties muſt have travelled many miles for the accompliſhing their intentions. There is no probability that Mr. Bigland at the time he publiſhed his Obſervations in 1764, had ſeen or accurately examined this act. It is much to be lamented, he obſerves, p. 7, that, during Cromwell's uſurpation, few parochial regiſters were kept with any tolerable regularity. How far this will hold good I am not able to aſcertain. As to thoſe which I have examined, truth commands me to ſay, that they are, in general, as exact as can be deſired. The appointment of the pariſh regiſter to his office, and his conſtant attendance upon the juſtice, is apparent in almoſt every inſtance. The appearance of want of regularity in many regiſters may be collected from the following circumſtances. In the regiſter of the pariſh of Idmiſton: From the firſt entry March 13, 1653, to the laſt in Cromwell's time June 7, 1658, there are in number ſeventy-four, and of theſe marriages only eight are of the inhabitants, or pariſhioners. Some of the others are from remote places. One is from North Buckhamton, Hants, and Stowford, by Wilton. St. Mary-Born, Hants, and Hackleſtone, the latter I ſhould ſuppoſe twelve miles diſtance at leaſt: how-

ever

ever exactneſs can hardly be expected. One from Melkſham [more than twenty miles], and Netherhaven ten, Weſtcomb ſixteen and Netherhaven, Tiſbury twenty, Donhead St. Andrews twenty. The others, if not ſo far, of courſe had no kind of connection with this place. What brought this extraordinary influx of weddings here muſt have ariſen from the reſidence of John Rede, Eſq. juſtice of the peace, at Birdlime's Farm, in Porton, a principal hamlet, whoſe name is to all, the two laſt excepted; and one July 2, 1657, by John Sharpe, junior, whoſe father was vicar. This being the caſe, it is not to be wondered at that many regiſters were defective. The parties were under a neceſſity of going from home, and gave themſelves no concern about recording their marriages in their places of reſidence. This circumſtance, with many others, evinces that nothing can more extend the general utility of theſe public records, but which, by being laid up, unknown, and unſearched, in a great degree become uſeleſs, than judicious extracts from them in county hiſtories. Remote alliances merit particular attention. *William Urry* of *Freſhwater* in comitat. Southampt. et inſula *Wight*, gentleman, was marryed to *Suſanne Note* of Idmiſton the 18 of Sept. anno 1637. Several children of this marriage are among the baptiſms. The living of the *Notes* is not at preſent more than twenty pounds per ann. The evident diſparity of the parties ſeems to indicate it to be a ſtolen match: the diſtance alſo adds a probability to the conjecture. *Robert Ramſay*, Eſq. was married to *Matilda Sherfield*, March 16, 1629 [*d*]. Among

[*d*] In the regiſter of Winterborne-Earles I find a Mawde Sherfield, wife of Richard Sherfield, buried the 16th of December 1616. What connection there was with the Recorder, I have not diſcovered: he poſſeſſed a farm in Porton, which he was compelled to ſell in conſequence of the heavy fine in the Star-chamber. It ſhould be remembered, that Sir Edward Nicholas, the ſecretary of ſtate, was born here; and that, in a different hand from the baptiſm here recorded,

Among the chriſtenings, 1627, July 27, is the following: *George* the ſonne of the right worſhipful Sir *Robert Gordon*. Q. What relation to Dr. *John Gordon*, dean of Saliſbury, who died in 1619? or to the noble family of that name [*e*]. Whether Mr. Hutchins, in his Hiſtory of Dorſetſhire, be the firſt or only writer who has adopted the mode of peruſing and publiſhing from regiſters the evidences of marriages, &c. is not for me to decide. Several remote family alliances, however, are there to be met with. Such are *Jennings* of *Shiplake* c. Oxon, with *Conſtantine* of *Great Canford*, *Kerr* of *Morris Town* in *Scotland* near *Berwick*, with *Pitt*; *Lee*, of *Coton*, Shropſhire, with *Michel*, both the ladies of *Melcomb Horſey* [*f*]. The recording of extraordinary events is of ſingular uſe in local and natural hiſtory, and points out a farther evidence of the extent of their utility. From the pariſh regiſter of the H. Trinity in Dorcheſter [*g*], we have the following memorandum: '1651, Aug. '22. At night there was great thunder and lightning, ſuch 'as has not been known by any living in this age, and there 'fell with it a great ſtorm of hail, ſome of the ſtones of which 'were ſeven inches about, with abundance of rain, and it con'tinued all night, and great part of next morning, till eight or 'nine of the clock. That ſame day were Mr. Love and Mr. 'Gibbons beheaded.' This ſtorm is mentioned by ſeveral au-

corded, on a blank leaf with ſeveral others of the family, is written 'Edvard 'Nicholas naſcitur quarto die Aprilis circa deciam noctis horam 48 poſt ho'ram natû 1593. 3° Sabb° die.' This cuſtom was kept up by the family after it ceaſed to be the place of their reſidence. Here we have this alſo: William Nicholas, ſon of Sir John Nicholas, knight of the Bath, was born at Spring Garden on Munday the 13th day of April 1668. Hence correct Bowyer's Life, p. 98.

[*e*] Theſe three laſt are from Idmiſton Regiſter, com. Wilts.

[*f*] Hutchins, v. II. 111. 427.

[*g*] Ib. v. I. 391.

thors [*b*], but nothing is ſaid of any miſchief in its conſequence. In the third regiſter of the pariſh of *Great Durnford*, Wilts, is this entry. 'John Cunditt was buried Auguſt the 2d, 1718. 'He and his man, and five horſes, were killed with a clap of 'thunder and lightning.' The day of interment induced me to ſuppoſe, that it might be on the ſame day in which *John Hewet* and *Mary Drew* were killed by lightning at Stanton-Harcourt, as related in Mr. Pope's Letters. On mentioning this to a gentleman reſident in the next pariſh, he communicated this memorandum of his grandfather's at the time of the event: 'Farmer *John Cundick*, of *Winterbourn*, was with his man 'and five horſes ſtruck dead with thunder and lightning, and 'another ſervant wounded July 31, 1716.' Theſe extraordinary accidents, certainly the ſame day, poſſibly the ſame hour, muſt have been at leaſt ſeventy miles apart.

As every man's experience may be of ſervice to others who may be engaged in ſimilar purſuits, I ſhall with leſs reſerve relate what has happened in my own. The diſcovery in the will of William of Wykeham of this, *Item lego Agneti Sandes conſanguineæ meæ pro ſe & liberis ſuis centum libras ſterlingorum*, induced a belief of the general conſanguinity of the family, which does not appear quite clear: but added ſpirit to my enquiries. Looking over Rudder's Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, p. 555, I found an account of the death of Sir *William Sandys* of *Muſarden*, March 2, 1640. On the ninth of December 1639 were married *Richard Goddard*, Eſq. and Mrs. *Culpepper Sandys* [*i*], one of the five daughters of the ſaid knight, and dame *Margaret* his wife, daughter and heir of *Walter Culpepper* of Oxfordſhire. The iſſue from this marriage were four daughters.

[*b*] See Aubrey's Miſcellanies, Art. *Omens*.

[*i*] Miſſerden Regiſter.

The baptiſms of the three youngeſt only are in the *Swindon* [*k*] regiſter. My buſineſs was with the eldeſt, but her baptiſm, after the family name of her mother *Sandys*, was not to be found there. Suſpicions and difficulties naturally aroſe upon this event, and were at length annihilated on the confirmation of a lucky conjecture, that Mrs. Goddard might viſit her mother at the time of her father's death: and that this was the caſe is as near as poſſible certain, her baptiſm about that year being in the regiſter of *Miſerden*. From the fulleſt evidence, I know that this caſe is by no means ſingular. And as we have ſeen before in the affair of marriages, ſo probably in the entering of baptiſms, a general negligence or inattention to them, though ſo material in its conſequences, might have generally prevailed on the ſide of the parents. Private family misfortunes, and public calamities of the times, muſt have occaſionally brought about a change in ſituations: theſe in conſequence neceſſarily produced oblivion and ignorance, in the courſe of time, of the place of family reſidence, and in ſome inſtances led to a neceſſity of other evidence for the legitimacy even of the principal perſon in the line.

It pleaſed Providence upon the coming in of the Houſe of Stuart to viſit this kingdom with a dreadful peſtilence. In our regiſter is the following entry: Anno 1604, *thoſe who died of the plage this yere.* Goodwife *Willminton* and John Willminton died December 14, *W. Willminton* Jan. 13, and five others out of the latter's houſe in Porton, the laſt, Jan. 28 in anno 1604. N. B. There is a conſiderable ſpace in the original, as if it had been intended to have inſerted others before theſe deaths: and it is remarkable, there are no other entries this year. Charles the Firſt began his reign with the ſame calamity; and his queen fled to Saliſbury in the courſe of the year 1625. The plague

[*k*] Com. Wilts.

was

was in Saliſbury in 1627 [*l*]. The ſame year it appeared in the country, ‘ 1627, 11 Julii, *Agneta Cooper* vidua *in campis.*—12 ‘ Julii, Gulielmus filius *Andreæ Pavye, in campis.*—14 Julii ‘ *Margaretta* filia *Richardi Cobb.*—19 Julii ſepulta erat *Fran-* ‘ *ciſca* filia *Andreæ Pavye* in campis.—19 Julii *Nicholaus* als ‘ *Phippes.*—21 Julii *Alicia* filia *Richardi Cobb.*—27 Julii *Ri-* ‘ *chardus Cobb* in *clauſo ejus.*—28 Julii *Arthurus Phippes* in ‘ *clauſo ejus* [*m*].’ Theſe irregular places of interment may ſolve ſome doubts that may ſometimes ariſe from the diſcovery of human bones. As in this particularly, ſo in various other inſtances, regiſters will be found uſeful in elucidating other parts of hiſtory, and biography, by correcting errors, and pointing out ſingular characters. So in the Regiſter of *Sherborne* among the burials, we find ‘ William Howel, *hermit of St. John Bap-* ‘ *tiſt*, 1538. Thomas Wyat, Knt. *Domini regis conſiliarius*, ‘ 1542 [*n*].’ Among the ſame in the Regiſter of *Wodeforde* [*o*] I find ‘ *Nicholas Barnes* prieſt the xxx daye of Auguſt 1557.’ In the Regiſter of *Weyhill*, Hants, is the following entry: ‘ Thomas Dominus Blount Comes de Newport, ſepultus Maii ‘ quarto, 1675.’ No mention is made of this nobleman by Wright in his edition of Heylin, a work in a great degree neceſſary for every reader of Engliſh hiſtory. Should theſe remarks give you any pleaſure, and you ſhould think them worthy the notice of the Society, I ſhall think my time well employed. Such as they are, they are with great deference and reſpect ſubmitted to your better judgement.

I remain your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN BOWLE.

[*l*] From a MS. liſt of the mayors of Saliſbury.
[*m*] From Great Durnford Regiſter.
[*n*] Hutchins, v. II. 383.
[*o*] Near Saliſbury.

P. S. Extracts from the Regiſter of Barford St. Martin's, near Wilton. Francis Deane and Jane Harwood, vid. both of that place, married by Mr. *Robert Read, mayor of Wilton*, April 10, 1654.

John Bull and Elenor Naſh, vid. by *Edward Tooke, Eſq. juſtice of the peace*, March 28, 1654.

William Surman of Wilton and Alice Godwin of this pariſh married by Mr. *Stephen Toogode* mayor of Wilton, May 28, 1655.

No appointment, or mention of the pariſh regiſter here.

VII. *Letter to the Rev.* James Douglas, *F. A. S. from* John Pownall, *Eſq. on a* Roman *Tile found at* Reculver *in* Kent.

Read December 15, 1785.

SIR,

Lewiſham, Sept. 26, 1785.

I HAVE the honour to ſend you herewith a very rude and imperfect ſketch of one of the tiles which cover ſome ducts or drains, now diſcernible in the cliff at Reculver in Kent, about eight feet below the ſurface of the Roman ſtation.

I call theſe ducts, or drains, becauſe I am unable to determine whether they were merely drains or ſewers to the camp, or whether they were ducts to a bath.

From the ſimilitude of the tiles in ſize and ſhape to thoſe deſcribed by Mr. Lyon as uſed in the ducts of the Roman bath diſcovered under St. Mary's church at Dover [*a*], and to thoſe uſed for the like purpoſe in the Roman bath diſcovered near Brecknock, as deſcribed by Mr. Hay [*b*], and from the whole of the ſpace occupied by theſe ducts or drains being covered above the tiles with a thick coat of very hard plaiſter compoſed of mortar mixed up with bruiſed brick, exactly ſimilar to that uſed for the ſame purpoſe in thoſe baths, as deſcribed by Mr. Lyon and Mr. Hay, I ſay that from theſe circumſtances I am inclined to believe that theſe alſo are ducts belonging to a Roman bath, and that the coat of plaiſter laid over the tiles was the floor of

[*a*] Archaeologia, vol. IV. p. 325.

[*b*] Ibid. vol. VII. p. 205.

ſome

ſome room above; but I ſay this only on the ground of conjecture, as my viſit to Reculver was too ſhort to purſue that mode of inveſtigation which might have aſcertained the fact; nor ſhould I have troubled you with theſe obſervations, had it not been for the very curious rude ſcrawl on the tile I brought away with me, a fac ſimile of which is upon the drawing incloſed [*c*].

If theſe are really letters, and the Romans ever wrote in ſuch characters, of which I never yet ſaw any ſample, I ſhould be inclined to think that the inſcription refers to the Legio ſecunda Britannica, which, after having been removed by Valentinian from amongſt the Silures, was ſtationed at their different poſts in Kent, for the defence of the coaſt againſt the Saxons.

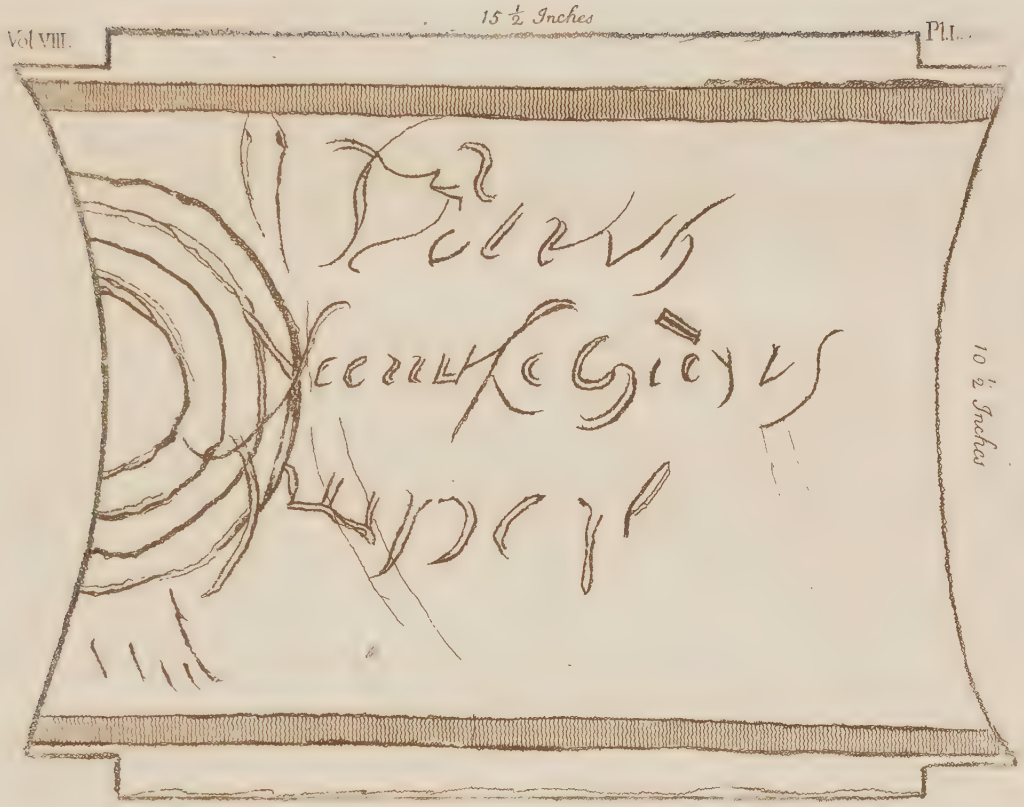
I examined a great number of the fragments of tiles lying amongſt the rubbiſh at the foot of the cliff, underneath where theſe ducts or drains appear; but that which I brought away is the only one that has any inſcription upon it, though every one has invariably that ſemicircular mark upon it which is deſcribed in the ſketch, and which ſeems to have had no other meaning than as a guide to the workmen in laying the tiles with greater exactneſs.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JOHN POWNALL.

[*c*] See plate II.


15 ½ Inches
10 ½ Inches

VIII. *Dr.* Glaſs's *Letter to* William Marſden, *Eſq. on the Affinity of certain Words in the Language of the* Sandwich *and* Friendly *Iſles in the* Pacific Ocean, *with the* Hebrew.

Read January 19, 1786.

My dear friend,

YOU know my opinion as to the originality of the Hebrew language: to this you muſt attribute the trouble I am now giving you.

If there was a time when all the inhabitants of the world ſpoke Hebrew, then we are juſtified in our attempts at tracing to that primary ſource any word in any language ſpoken on the habitable globe: and an argument connected with theſe data, though it may not carry conviction with it, will not, I hope, be conſidered, *primâ facie*, as abſurd and impoſſible.

It is my opinion, then, that the word *taboo*, which is ſo common in all the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean, and which occurs ſo very frequently in the journals of our circumnavigators, is, *poſſibly*, of Hebrew origin.

At leaſt thus much is certain, that the Hebrew word תעובה *Taooba*, from תעב, has the ſame preciſe ſignification with the word *Taboo*, as uſed in the Sandwich and Friendly iſles, &c.

The word תעב as a verb ſignifies tranſitively, to *loath*, *nauſeate*, *abominate*, both in a natural and mental ſenſe. From

hence is derived תעובה *Taaob-a*, and תעובת *Taoob-ath*, an abomination.

It occurs in ſeveral places of the Sacred Writings; but the three following inſtances are ſufficiently in point for my purpoſe, viz. to ſhew, that the effect of that abomination we ſpeak of, was *interdictory*, and that to a very high degree, which is exactly the ſenſe in which it ſeems to occur in the Journals of Captain Cook, &c. with the ſlight tranſpoſition of one vowel.

I.

Geneſis lxiii. 32.

" And they ſet on (meat) for him (Joſeph) by himſelf, and for them (the ſons of Jacob) by themſelves; and for the Egyptians which did eat with him (in his preſence) by themſelves, becauſe the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is תעובה, *Taooba*, to the Egyptians."

An inhabitant of O-why-hee would have given the very ſame reaſon for ſuch a ſeparation at his meal.

II.

Geneſis xlvi. 33, 34.

" And it ſhall come to paſs when Pharaoh ſhall call you, and " ſhall ſay, ' What is your occupation?'

" That ye ſhall ſay, ' Thy ſervants trade hath been about " cattle, from our youth even until now, both we and our fa- " thers:' that ye may dwell in the land of Goſhen, for every " ſhepherd is תעובת *Taoob-ath*, to the Egyptians."

III.

Exodus viii. 25, 26.

And Pharaoh called for Moſes and Aaron, and ſaid: " Go " ye, ſacrifice to your God in the land."

And Moſes ſaid: "It is not meet ſo to do, for we ſhall ſacri-
" fice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God
" *(Taoob-ath-Mizräim)*, Lo, ſhall we ſacrifice תעבת מצרים,
" that which the Egyptians are forbidden to uſe, before their
" eyes, and will they not ſtone us?"

There is little doubt, that Moſes in this place alludes to the well-known Egyptian hiſtories of Iſis and Oſiris, and that the *cow* was the *taboo'd* animal which it was ſo hazardous to ſacrifice in Egypt.

Herodotus gives us the reaſon in his Euterpe:

Τὲς μὲν ἕν καθαρὲς βῦς τὲς ἔρσενας, καὶ τὲς μοσχὲς οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύεσι· τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν· ἀλλὰ ἱραί εἶσι τῆς Ἴσιος. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἴσιος ἄγαλμα, ἐὸν γυναικήϊον, βεκέρων ἐστί, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰῶ γράφουσι· καὶ τὰς βῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται, προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ.

" All the Egyptians ſacrifice bulls, and bull-calves which are free from blemiſh; but cows they are forbidden to offer up, for they are holy to Iſis. For the repreſentation of Iſis is that of a female with a cow's horns, as the Greeks paint Iö, and all the Egyptians do thus venerate cows (boves fœminas) far more than all other cattle."

In conſequence of this, their behaviour to perſons coming from a country not ſo ſcrupulous gives us a moſt perfect idea of the *taboo*.

Τῶν ἕνεκα, οὔτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλήσειεν τῷ στόματι· οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος χρήσεται, οὐδ' ὀβελοισι, οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαρῦ βόος διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται.

" On this account no Egyptian man or woman would kiſs a Greek, nor uſe the ſword of a Greek, nor Grecian ſpits, or caldrons; nor will they even taſte the fleſh of a clean beaſt, which is carved with a Grecian knife."

This was the *Taoob-a-Mizräim* in its effects, which are exactly analogous to thoſe of the *Taboo.*

The tenor of theſe obſervations is ſupported by the Jewiſh Rabbinical Comment, called Targum Onkelos, on Geneſis xliii. 32. quoted by the ingenious and learned Mr. Parkhurſt in his Lexicon, on the word תעב, where it is ſaid, "For the Egyptians could not eat bread with the Hebrews becauſe the beaſts "which the Egyptians worſhipped the Hebrews eat."

If I miſtake not, the Taboo of the iſlands has ſome connection, not accurately underſtood, with their religious tenets.

This conjecture will receive additional ſtrength, if in the courſe of future enquiry there ſhould appear, as I cannot but ſuſpect will be the caſe, as marked an affinity between other words in the two languages, expreſſive of the ſame ideas; *Mattee,* from מת, ſeems to be here in point.

I wiſh I had leiſure and abilities to enter more deeply into ſuch an inveſtigation.

The ſubject viewed in any light whatever is not unintereſting; and no argument in favour of the primævity of the Hebrew language is unimportant. Reſearches of this nature, we underſtand, are now making, under the direction of a great princeſs, as well as by the aſſiduous care of learned individuals. I am fully perſuaded, that theſe reſearches will terminate in ſome new diſcoveries of the connection between the language of every kingdom upon earth with that preſumed to have been ſpoken by Adam and Noah.

Yours moſt affectionately,

G. H. GLASS.

IX. *Mr.* Willis's *Eſſay on the* Ikineld-Street.

Communicated by Mr. Bray *to the* Earl *of* Leiceſter. Pr. A. S.

Read March 3, 1785.

My Lord,

THE following eſſay towards a diſcovery of the Iknield-ſtreet, the courſe of which Antiquaries have been ſo long enquiring after, is the production of the late Mr. Richard Willis of Andover, a gentleman very ſtudious in matters of antiquity, and indefatigable in his reſearches.

It ſeems proper to premiſe, that in the firſt volume of the Archaeologia, p. 56, Mr. Lethieullier, in a letter to Mr. Gale, corrects an error of Dr. Stukeley in aſſerting that the Icening-ſtreet (as he calls it) goes from Newberry to Old Sarum; and he deſcribes very minutely a Roman road from Marlborough to the North gate of Wincheſter, but he does not aſſign it any name.

Mr. Richard Willis (p. 60. of the ſame volume) calls the attention of the Society, and of Dr. Stukeley in particular, to the diverticulum which Mr. Taylor has ſhewn in his map of Hants, of the Ikeneld-ſtreet, running from the N. E. corner of Sir Sydney Medows's park which Mr. Taylor calls Chute park, (viz. from the figure 326. Sir Sydney's late Sir Philip Medows's ſeat called Conholt), to a little houſe to the S. W. called Scot's-poor. This diverticulum, he ſays, is called Chute Cauſeway, and is

the Ikeneld-ſtreet continued from Wincheſter. He affirms that this cauſeway from Scots-poor goes to Marlborough, not to Old Sarum, divides into a vicinal way from Badbury camp near Wanborough, from whence, by Mr. Wiſe's account, it paſſes by the White-horſe hill and Wantage to Goreing, and is Dr. Plot's Ikeneld-ſtreet; thence to Royſton or Barley. But from Wanborough, he ſays, the great Ikeneld-ſtreet, one of the four Baſilical *ways*, runs, as I affirm it *from my own inſpection*, into Warwickſhire.

The merit however of diſcovering the road from Southampton by Wincheſter to Glouceſter to be the great Ikeneld-ſtreet, is claimed by Mr. Willis, who, in ſome papers relating to this and other Roman roads, ſays, that "the diſcovery of the Port-"way from Silcheſter to Andover, and thence to Old Sarum, "as well as the Ikineld-ſtreet from Southampton to Glouceſter, "and the etymology of both theſe cauſeways, was firſt com-"municated to the Society by a letter I wrote to the late Dr. "Ward, accompanied with a rough ſketch of a map to ſhew "the Roman cauſeways in the county, which for the two prin-"cipal, viz. the Ikineld-ſtreet, and the Portway, croſſing juſt "by this place of my aboad, I had made large remarks on "their progreſs through the kingdom; which letter was read "to them by the honourable James Weſt, Eſq. in 1752.

"As my remarks on theſe monuments of Roman grandeur "were entirely new, I was ſo vain as to expect from the ho-"nourable Society ſome token that they were pleaſed with my "new diſcovery, inſtead of which the Doctor wrote me word "that my account claſhed ſo far with Dr. Stukeley's Itinera-"rium Curioſum, that on that account the gentlemen ſhewed "the leſs regard to it. But the publication of Mr. J. Taylor's "map or accurate ſurvey of Hampſhire, encouraged me to "appeal to the public through the conveyance of the Gentle-

"man's

" man's Magazine. I took the liberty to ſend one of theſe " maps to the abovementioned honourable Gentleman for the " inſpection of the Society, and with it a drawing of a plan " of Wincheſter [*a*] to ſhew the ſix Roman cauſeways I took " notice of in my above remarks proceeding from the four " gates of the city. I would by means of the Magazine make " an apology to Dr. Stukeley for imagining in thoſe remarks " he had been impoſed on in his account of Chute Cauſeway, " by his ſenſible Ameſbury friends, if I ſaid they were two " ignorant conceited fellows. I beg the Gentlemen of the So- " ciety and Dr. Stukeley in particular would obſerve," &c. as in vol. I. p. 60.

Theſe papers have been communicated to me by Henry Norton Willis, Eſq. his grandſon, at whoſe deſire I have extracted the following account of the Ikineld-ſtreet to lay before your lordſhip. The letter above referred to has not been printed by the Society, and is now probably loſt; and as the road is here traced much further than it is by Mr. Lethieullier, beſides that here is alſo an elucidation of the road through Oxfordſhire, if your lordſhip ſhall think this paper worthy the notice of the Society, which has the honour of your lordſhip for Preſident, I may hereafter, with Mr. Willis's leave, tranſmit the obſervations on the Portway.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect,

My Lord,

your lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

WILLIAM BRAY.

[*a*] Mr. Weſt not having communicated Taylor's map of Hants and the plan of Wincheſter ſent to accompany this letter; the Society could not receive the conviction from them which Mr. Willis deſigned. *Minutes.*

X. *An Eſſay towards a Diſcovery of the great* Ikineld-Street *of the* Romans.

WHATEVER ground there may be for ſuppoſing the city of Wincheſter to have been built near 1000 years before Chriſt, there ſeems to be no doubt of its having been a Roman ſtation, and probably one of their cities; a pavement of brick, and coins of Conſtantine the Great, and others, were diſcovered in digging the foundations of the palace, which was begun by Charles II. [*a*]. It is ſaid to have had formerly ſix gates, four principal of which ſtill ſubſiſt. The Britons called it Caer-Gwent, or the White City, from its chalky ſituation, and it is agreed to be the Roman *Venta Belgarum* of Ptolemy and Antoninus.

From the four remaining gates of this city there are ſix Roman ways. Mr. Taylor's map of Hampſhire, as it is the firſt that ever delineated a Roman way in the county, is conſequently the firſt that has ſhewn any of theſe ſix; but he has overlooked two, viz. one from the Eaſt gate, which goes by Alresford to Farnham, and one from the South gate to Southampton. His overſight may be excuſed if we conſider that they were lately become turnpike roads when he made his map, ſo that they were broken up and diſguiſed.

1. From the Eaſt gate one goes by Alresford and Alton to Farnham, and is part of Antoninus's 15th Iter, viz. Vindomis,

[*a*] Camden, Brit. vol. I. p. 215.

Venta

Venta Belgarum [*b*]. The learned annotator on Camden ſays, that from Alresford to Alton there goes all along a Roman highway [*c*]. Part of this [*d*] makes a head or ſtank to the great pond at Alresford, out of which riſes the river Itchin, running from thence by Wincheſter to Southampton.

2. Another way from the Eaſt gate proceeds on the now turnpike road to Moreſted, where it branches off weſtward from the Goſport and Portſmouth road to Ouleſbury, and from thence to a wood called Rowhay-coppice. Here Mr. Taylor's map loſes it, and it is no longer a road; but it goes through that wood, and through ſeveral incloſures by Upham and Biſhops Waltham to Portcheſter, the landing place of Veſpaſian.

3. To the South gate comes the way from Southampton, mentioned in Antoninus's 7th Iter; a Clauſento Venta Belgarum. Dr. Stukeley ſays (Itin. Cur. I. p. 192. laſt edit.): "The way between Wincheſter and Southampton we perceived plainly to be a Roman road, eſpecially as far as the chalk reached." [This croſſes the city, goes out at the North gate, as in N° 6, and is, as will be ſhewn by and by, the true Ikineld-ſtreet.]

[*b*] N° 5 ſeems rather to belong to this Iter. Alresford and Alton are in a line to Farnham, but very much out of the way from Wincheſter to Silcheſter, *Vindomis*. Dr. Stukeley makes Farnham to be *Calleva*, inſtead of Wallingford as Camden, or Henley as Talbot, interprets it, and, that it may anſwer that name, makes the road from thence to Wincheſter in the 15th Iter go round by Silcheſter, a long and needleſs circuit, when there was a ſtraight road through Alton and Alresford. But Silcheſter would come naturally in the way from either Wallingford or Henley to Wincheſter.

[*c*] Camd. vol. I. p. 214.

[*d*] The turnpike road having taken a new courſe, this is no longer the common way to Alton. In the Gent. Mag. for 1783, p. 324, it is ſaid, that in a wood called Monks wood near Alton were lately diſcovered deep trenches and evident remains of an old camp.

4. Another way goes from the Weſt gate to Old Sarum, terminating in Hants at Buckholt, the ſite of the Roman *Brige*, demoliſhed by William I. to extend the bounds of the new foreſt. This is part of the 15th Iter, viz. Venta Belgarum, Brige, Sorbioduno. From this gate alſo proceeds a turnpike road by Stockbridge to Saliſbury, and another to Romſey.

5. From the North gate to Silcheſter, now the turnpike road to Baſingſtoke [*e*].

6. From the North gate a Roman cauſeway [a continuation of N° 3.], ſhewn in Taylor's map, runs N. W. through the whole county of Hants into Wilts at Hampſhire gate, at the S. E. corner of Chute-park [*f*]. When got through the park into the Marlborough road again it turns into a direct S. W. courſe, to avoid the deſcent of a precipice from the vaſt ridge which here runs along. At the Eaſt ſide of Hampſhire gate it

[*e*] This ſeems to be the 15th Iter, rather than N° 1.

[*f*] Chute park was made a park by Sir Philip Medows about the year .... of the lands that were known by the name of Eſcourt, a place of great antiquity, and diſtinguiſhed in all former maps of Wilts as if it were a town or village. This park is all in Wilts, and when Sir Philip made it, he got a writ of *ad quod damnum* to make the Eaſt bound in a ſtraight line, thereby taking in this road, which now makes a grand gravel terrace walk. It is raiſed in a high ridge, on the ſummit of a high hill, and commands a view of the Iſle of Wight and Saliſbury ſteeple, the former at more than forty, the latter at more than twenty miles diſtance. The baſis of this cauſeway is a high bed of flint; the next ſtratum is like the cinder and aſhes of a blackſmith's forge, but from whence ſuch a quantity could be collected is truly marvellous. I analyſed it by waſhing it in a baſon of water, and by often decanting the black ablutions whilſt any colour ſtained the water, what had looked like the cinder was left perfectly white at the bottom of the baſon, and reſembled the ſmall fragments of marble made by the ſtonecutter's chippings, and much of the ſame grit. The ſediment of the black water, being dried, made a powder like gunpowder rubbed fine, but was not at all inflammable. The upper ſtratum is not much leſs wonderful, though it is no more than a beautiful gravel, as no parts of the country near produce any ſuch material.

paſſes

paſſes through the middle of a beautiful encampment, called by the country people Bevisbury, over a common North of Chute, and, as far as a ſingle public houſe called Scot's-poor, is known by the name of Chute cauſeway [*g*]. At Scot's-poor [*h*] it croſſes a great intrenchment called Wanſdyke (which Stukeley, in his Stonehenge, p. 48, ſays was a bound of the Belgæ, and apprehends it to have been made by Divitiacus about fifty years before Cæſar wrote, and that it ſeems to have been drawn from the upper end of Tees river about Whitchurch and Andover in Hants to the Avon river about Briſtol, and that theſe two rivers and the Wanſdyke ſeparated the Belgick kingdom from the old Britons); then it turns in a right angle, and, preſently aſcending, runs on the ridge of another high hill, and is here called Battle-hill cauſeway, all along crouded with barrows and intrenchments. One of theſe barrows [the preſent earl of Ayleſbury when] lord Bruce has planted with firs, which make a beautiful eye-mark from a ſummer-houſe in his park on the oppoſite ſide of the vale; another of them [*i*] ſtands at the brow of

[*g*] From this cauſeway at Worthy Cow-down branches off a turnpike road for Whitchurch, Newberry, &c. And further North, near Newton Stacey, a turnpike road branches from it to Goſport and Southampton through Wincheſter, and a branch through Wherwell to Andover, from thence in the ſame direction to Weyhill, and from thence one by Everly and Devizes to Bath and Briſtol; another by Ameſbury to Shruton, Warminſter, Froom, &c.

[*h*] At Scot's-poor the Marlborough road from Andover proceeds ſtraight on to Burbach, and thence along the Weſtern ſide of Savernake foreſt, which it leaves at the brow of the hill, where it joins the road part of the 14th Iter from Silcheſter to Newberry, and paſſes with it, croſſing the river Kennet, to Marlborough, viz. *Calleva*, *Spinis*, *Cunetio*.

[*i*] The peaſants, being perſuaded that great riches were hid in this barrow about the year 1750, beſtowed almoſt a ſummer's labour to dig into it; when at laſt they found three prodigious large ſtones, much of the form and ſize of thoſe at Stonehenge, and probably brought, as thoſe were, from Marlborough Downs.

of this hill where our road deſcends to the village of Marton; but, it being here ploughed field, it is ſcarcely obſervable till it quits the village, when it proceeds in a high ridge by Wilton, then deſcends into the vale to Craton (adjoining to Great Bedwin), where it croſſes that river at lord Ayleſbury's water-houſe, and ſoon after runs through his park, and near his ſeat at Tokenham, quitting which it enters his foreſt of Savernake on its Eaſtern ſide, and near its further ſide croſſes the 14th Iter, which is alſo the turnpike road from London to Bath. It croſſes the river at Werg-mill by Marlborough, mounts the oppoſite hill, and goes cloſe by its Weſt ſide to a houſe ſome time lady Winchilſea's, now reduced to a farm-houſe. From hence it goes to Ogbourn St. George cloſe on the left hand; but a little before that place another Roman cauſeway runs off from this, nearly in a right angle North Eaſterly for Biſhopſton. Between theſe two roads is a fine encampment called Badbury-hill (from whence is a very extenſive proſpect), and Barbury caſtle on the top of a high hill encompaſſed with a double ditch. A little beyond theſe two camps it comes to Wanborough, a place of great antiquity, from thence to Stretton St. Margaret's, Cricklade, Cirenceſter, Birdlip hill, and ſo to Glouceſter [*k*].

Downs. Theſe ſtood up perpendicular, having two others of like ſort laid on the tops of them, and thereby making a ſepulchre, for under them was depoſited one human ſkeleton. When I viſited it, one of the men preſented me with a fragment of the lower jawbone with two or three of the teeth.

[*k*] In the 13th Iter of Antoninus, the copier has omitted one ſtation, as he makes the ſum to be 109 miles, but on caſting up the particulars they make but 90. It makes from Durocornovio (Cirenceſter) to Spine but 15 miles, whereas it is in fact about 34. Wanborough ſeems to be the ſtation omitted; and, if we read the Iter thus, Cirenceſter to Wanborough 15, Spine 19, which are very nearly the diſtances, it makes the particular ſums added together, 109.

At

At Wanborough another Roman way, part of the 13th Iter, viz. Speen, Cirenceſter, Glouceſter, joins our road, having been traced from Speen by Donington caſtle, and Baydon to Wanborough. This croſſes the other mentioned above to go to Biſhopſton, at a public-houſe, at the N. E. bottom of the hill called Wanborough Red-houſe, and, as I ſhall ſhew by and by, was a road of communication between the Hermin-ſtreet and that which I have thus traced from Southampton to Glouceſter, and which I doubt not is the Ikineld-ſtreet. This with the Hermin-ſtreet are the two Chemini Majores running in the length of the kingdom, as the Foſſe and the Watling-ſtreet do in the breadth.

The Ikineld and Hermin-ſtreets were connected at their Southern ends by a vicinal road of communication, mentioned in the 7th Iter, a Regno (Chicheſter) Clauſento (Southampton) with the intermediate cauſeway from Portcheſter to Wincheſter [N° 2 above]; at their Northern ends by the road mentioned by Horſley and others to go the whole courſe of the Picts wall; and in the intermediate ſpace by a cauſeway beginning at the Hermin-ſtreet at Royſton, and terminating at the Ikineld-ſtreet near Ogbourn St. George (or Wanborough) mentioned above.

The Ikineld-ſtreet took its name from its beginning at the mouth of the river Ichin, and continuing its courſe thence to Wincheſter parallel to that river.

Veſpaſian firſt conquered the Iſle of Wight and the Belgæ, and is ſaid to have landed at Portcheſter, from whence he may be imagined to have marched on this cauſeway to Wincheſter; Agricola to have made Southampton (Clauſentum) his landing place, proceeding hence N. W. to the paſſage of the Severn at Glouceſter in his way to the conqueſt of the Welch, after which he purſued his victories in a N. E. direction to the

Eaſtern

Eaſtern termination of the Picts wall at Tinemouth [*l*]. He is generally allowed to have made (in particular) this noble cauſeway in the whole length of England, and from the reaſon juſt mentioned might give it the name of Ichin-ſtreet, or Ikin-ſtreet, and the Saxons might make it Ikin-eld ſtreet, or the old Ikin-ſtreet.

Horſley, p. 387, ſpells it *H*ikenild-ſtreet. In old deeds of lands in Andover bordering on this ſtreet, it is called the *Hicknel*, or *Hicknal*, way.

When I ſaw from my ſtation at Wanborough the Roman way from Ogbourn by Biſhopſton, going thence to Whitehorſe-hill, which was in my view, I diſcovered what had been the greateſt ſtumbling-block to all authors I had read on Roman roads, when ſpeaking of this Ikineld-ſtreet and another they call by the ſame name, and which for diſtinction ſake I ſhall call the Oxfordſhire Ikineld-ſtreet. The latter, as I have already mentioned, is only a road of communication between the Ikineld and Hermin-ſtreets, which from co-inciding here (Wanborough) with the former, no doubt acquired its name; and as Mr. Gale denies its paſſing further than Barley or Royſton in Harts, ſo I deny its *croſſing* the Ikineld-ſtreet here, for, if it had, its direct courſe would have been to Marlborough. Mr. Camden's map of Harts traces it from Royſton and no farther, S. W. to Baldock and Dunſtable, where it croſſes the Watling-ſtreet, by the name of the Iknel-way. The traces of this cauſeway are very imperfect from Dunſtable through Bucks

[*l*] It was long before any Roman road could be traced beyond Little Cheſter near Derby to Cheſterfield, but it has now been accurately done by Mr. Pegge *. He however can find nothing of it in Derbyſhire beyond Cheſterfield, though it is agreed that it enters the county of York near Beighton, in its way to Temple-Brough.

* Eſſay on the Roman roads through the Coritani, p. 31, 32.

by

by Ivingho [and Meerſworth] again into Harts near long Merſton, then through Tring into Bucks, again near Wendover [Kemble and Princes Riſborough] to Chinner in Oxfordſhire; from hence Mr. Camden's map ſhews it very remarkably through that county to Goreing on the river Thames [*m*], over againſt which, on the other ſide ſtands Strateley in Berks. Mr. Gale ſays, "it gives name to Strateley; but here I muſt confeſs "myſelf at a full ſtop, the Iknild-ſtreet, as far as I know, being "entirely loſt, and our guides utterly diſagreeing among themſelves which way to lead us. Mr. Drayton terminates it "upon the Solent ſea; the Cottonian ſcheme carries it on to "Saliſbury. If it terminated on the Solent ſea, it muſt have "been at Southampton, and probably went from Strateley "where we loſt it, to Silcheſter, thence to Wincheſter and "Southton; but by its paſſing the Thames at Goreing to "Strateley, it ſeems to bear to another point, and carries us rather to Newberry or Speen than Silcheſter [*n*]."

He takes this to be the true Iknild-ſtreet, as it takes its riſe and name from the people called Iceni, the inhabitants of Norfolk, and he ſays Dr. Plot is the firſt (Nat. Hiſt. Oxf.) who diſcovered the courſe of it through that county. Dr. Plot alſo, upon the preſumption that the way muſt be derived from the Iceni as it proceeds from Royſton, adjoining to thoſe people, ſays (Hiſt. Staff. p. 393.) "I cannot imagine how the Roman "way through Worceſter, Warwick, and Staffordſhires, came "to be called the Ikineld-ſtreet except thoſe people were alſo "a part of the Iceni." And adds (p. 400.) "The other Iki-"neld-ſtreet in Oxfordſhire ſeems alſo to be called ſo from

[*m*] Plot's map ſtill more clearly.

[*n*] Eſſay on the four great Roman ways, at the end of the ſixth volume of Leland's Itinerary.

"paſſing

" paſſing through the other Iceni of Norfolk, &c. only I look " upon this of Staffordſhire as the more remarkable of the two, " and ſo to be that Iknild-ſtreet which is uſually reckoned one " of the four baſilical or great ways of England, and not that " of Oxfordſhire, this being raiſed all along, paved at ſome " places, and very ſignal almoſt wherever it goes, whereas that " of Oxfordſhire is not ſo there, whatever it may be in other " counties." In his Hiſtory of Staffordſhire (p. 316) he quotes Holinſhed, " who fancies the Iknild-ſtreet began ſomewhere " in the South, and ſo held on towards Cirenceſter, Birming- " ham and Litchfield, by Derby and Cheſterfield, and croſſing " the Watling-ſtreet ſomewhere in Yorkſhire, ſtretched forth " in the end to the mouth of the Tine at the main ſea."

Mr. Wiſe, in his Antiquities in Berks, p. 41, finds this leſſer Iknild-ſtreet through Buckinghamſhire to Oxfordſhire, where Mr. Gale loſes it, viz. at Strateley, and thence traces it all through that county by the White-horſe hill to Biſhopſton in Wilts, where, as before mentioned, I diſcovered its terminating and coinciding with the real Ikineld-ſtreet near Ogbourn St. George. Mr. Wiſe ſays [*o*], " From Biſhopſton it points to- " wards Abury, and perhaps to the Devizes, but not at all to " Saliſbury as is commonly imagined." He does not allow its derivation from the Iceni, but rather takes it from the termination of the word Agricola. But Dr. Stukeley condemns both

[*o*] He ſays it goes Weſt to Bluberry, and near that town is viſible enough; a hill between Aſton and Bluberry called Bluberton, appears to have been a Roman fortification, though the works are now nearly demoliſhed. From Bluberry to Wantage, but whether by the modern great road to Upton and Harwell, or more to the left to Chilton under the hills till we come to Lockyng, where is a raiſed way called Icleton-meer, pointing to Wantage, he doubts. After it paſſed Wantage it is called Icleton way all under the hills between them and Childrey, Sparſholt, Uffington, ſo under White-horſe-hill, leaving Woolſton and Compton on the right, thence to Aſhbury and Biſhopſton, p. 43.

the Iknild-ſtreets, calling the true one from Glouceſter to Yorkſhire by the name of the Ricning-way, from his whimſical derivation of the Saxon, Riȝe, *Dorſum.* This he imagines runs from Glouceſter ſomewhere towards the mouth of the Severn; but he traces a Roman cauſeway from Glouceſter by Birdlip hill to Cirenceſter and Cricklade. Between Glouceſter and Birdlip hill he deſcribes it as appearing with a very high ridge, very ſtraight, and prodigious ſteep and rocky. He alſo mentions Ogbourn St. George, and Badbury camp, between which two is Ogbourn, but he takes no notice of the cauſeway here. As Mr. Gale terminates the Oxfordſhire Ikineld-ſtreet at Royſton, or Barley near it, in Harts, I imagine Dr. Stukeley's courſe of his Icening-ſtreet through the county of Norfolk to Royſton muſt be chimerical. From Royſton he calls it Icening-ſtreet through the whole courſe of Plot's Ikineld-ſtreet, to Goreing, but gives no reaſon why he differs in the name from all other authors. He does not carry it over the Thames to Strateley, but dreams that it goes from Goreing to Newberry, and thence he ſuppoſes to Chute cauſeway.

The antiquity of Wanborough, mentioned in the above account, has been noticed by Camden's Annotator in ſpeaking of Barbury caſtle. A cup ſuppoſed to be a Patera uſed in libations has been ſince found at Rudge in the pariſh of Froxfield on the Roman way between Speen and Marlborough, about four miles Eaſt of the Ikineld-ſtreets croſſing the ſaid way and the Kennet. This cup is deſcribed by Horſley, p. 329, and he has given an engraving of it, N° 74.

About the ſame diſtance upon the river is Littlecot, the ancient and noble ſeat of the Pophams, in whoſe park in 1730 was diſcovered about two feet under the ſurface of the earth a teſſelated pavement, which has been engraved by Vertue from a drawing made by Mr. George, ſteward to Mr. Popham; in the

margin is a verbal deſcription of it, drawn up by the late Dr. Ward of Greſham College.

This curious piece of antiquity has been ſince deſtroyed, but Mr. George made an exact draught of it on ſeveral ſheets of paper, in which all the parts and figures were expreſſed in their proper colours. From this drawing his widow afterwards made a beautiful carpet in needle-work, reduced to the ſize of near one inch to a foot of the original. Mrs. George ſetting up a boarding-ſchool for young ladies after the death of her huſband, employed ſome years in working this noble carpet, which ſhe carried to Andover on removing to that place, and afterwards preſented it to her benefactor Mr. Popham, who got it engraved by Vertue.

Mr. George left a drawing of another teſſelated pavement found at Froxfield farm in the ſame pariſh; it is an oblong, divided into three parts, prettily ornamented, but not adorned with any animal figures.

In 1725 he found another at Rudge, on his own eſtate, of which he took a draught, and had it engraved by Vander Gucht.

His widow had alſo a drawing of another teſſelated pavement, without figures, which was in being when this account was drawn up; and Mr. ..... ſays he ſaw it under the dung in the farm yard of Nighton farm, the eſtate of Mr. Popham, on the North ſide of the Kennet, over againſt Littlecot.

In this pariſh of Froxfield, at Rudge, Mr. George alſo diſcovered the walls and foundations of a Roman hypocauſt, and other buildings, in which ruins and a well, he found earthen pots with large quantities of Roman medals, and ſeveral inſtruments belonging to their ſacrifices, particularly a Seceſpita, and the

the above mentioned Patera deſcribed by Horſley. That gentleman would not have expreſſed his ſurprize at its being found there, if he had known of the profuſion of other curioſities diſcovered thereabouts upon a Roman way ſo near to the Ikineld-ſtreet, that again ſo near to Marlborough, the ancient *Cunetio*, diſtinguiſhed by many Roman works near the caſtle, and the mount or keep thrown up by them; theſe again ſo near the Vicinal way to the Hermin-ſtreet, co-inciding, as above deſcribed, with the Ikineld-ſtreet; ſo near Barbury and Badbury hills, and ſo near Wanborough, which I have ſhewn to be a Roman ſtation between Speen and Cirenceſter, and at which place that Roman way from Speen unites with the Ikineld-ſtreet.

XI. *Mr.* Willis *on the* Roman Portway.

Read February 2, 1786.

THE Roman Cauſeway which runs from the N. E. to the S. W. of the kingdom through Hants and Wilts, is known through thoſe counties by the name of the *Portway*. If I may be allowed to give this name to thoſe ways in Antoninus's Itinera which run in a North Eaſterly direction from this road in Hants, and South Weſterly from its Wiltſhire limit, the Portway is as long as either of the two great ways *in longitudinem*; and if it is a Roman way from the Eaſtern ſea coaſt to Hampſhire, and from Wilts to the ſea coaſt Weſtward, it would exceed them. That it does ſo, ſeems to be referred to in the charter granted by queen Elizabeth to the Borough of Andover, which is on the Portway between London and the Land's-end. The clauſe is this; "Conſideranteſque "quod burgus ſive villa de Andever eſt villa antiqua et popu- "loſa et communis via (Anglicè a thorough-fare) per totum reg- "num noſtrum Angliæ in partes occidentales." Antoninus's 9th Iter carries us in this direction from Caiſtor near Norwich, (Venta Icenorum) to London; his 7th from London to Silcheſter; from whence we know it by the name of the Portway through Hants and Wilts, viz. to Old Sarum and thence to Stretford. From Old Sarum the 15th Iter continues it to Dorcheſter and Exeter.

As the word *porta* denotes the name of city from *portare* to carry the plough where the gates were intended, ſo *Portway* here might perhaps take the name from uniting the ſix Roman cities here mentioned; therefore the whole from Norwich to Exeter ſeems to have properly the name of *Portway*.

The imperial Iter is from London through *Pontes* to Silcheſter. Dr. Stukeley reckons *Staines* to be *Pontes*; but Mr. Horſley takes it to be *Old Windſor*. The latter ſeems to agree beſt with the Old Portway, which, ſince the demolition of *Silcheſter*, has become uſeleſs, and the modern poſt road which comes through Staines, Baſingſtoke, &c. does not unite with it till they both come to Andover, where alſo, ſince the deſtruction of Old Sarum, they again ſeparate; and they meet no more. The poſt road from Andover runs through Saliſbury; the Portway croſſes the Bourn at Porton (to which it probably gives name), goes by the Eaſt gate of Old Sarum where it coincides with the Roman way from Wincheſter, croſſes the Avon at Stretford, and then aſcends the hill [*a*].

From the diſuſe of this London road to Silcheſter, the other many roads from the latter, in the time of the Romans, are now become almoſt inviſible.

Mr. Camden takes notice of the Portway, ſaying, v. I. p. 219. "There is a Roman road paſſes weſtward from Silcheſter "through Pamber, a thick and woody foreſt, by ſome places "that are now uninhabited; it runs through Lichfield, and ſo

[*a*] From hence Dr. Stukeley traces it, under the name of the *Ikenild Street*, over the Nadre and Willey near Bemerton, where the ſtony ford is viſible, to Nether Hampton, over the race-courſe, lord Pembroke's hare-warren, the brook at Stony Stratford, along the great downs to Cranborn Chace, through the woods to Vernditch Lodge, a mile and half Eaſt from Woodyates, and juſt before its coming to this place it croſſes the vallum and ditch that divides Wilts from Dorſet. After this Mr. Hutchins traces it through that county into Devonſhire.

"to

" to the foreſt of Chute, pleaſant for its ſhady trees and the " diverſions of hunting, where the huntſmen and foreſters ad- " mire its paved riſing ridge." Mr. Taylor, in his map of Hants, weſtward of Silcheſter, has loſt this way in the uninhabited Pamber foreſt, but from Ewhurſt he traces it minutely through the pariſh of Lichfield, and thence to Finckly farm in the pariſh of Andover. Finckly, when Camden wrote, was the Eaſt walk of Chute foreſt, which foreſt at that time extended from thence through the N. W. part of Hants to the N. E. of Wayhill, viz. Clanvill Street its moſt northern extent in this county being at the upper end of that ſtreet which divides it from Wilts at Wakeſwood, called Foreſt-farm. On the other ſide of that ſtreet from Wakeſwood, it was called Chute-foreſt, Wilts. The whole has been diſafforeſted many years; but Finckly remained a part of it till Charles II. granted it to general Monk, to whoſe heirs it does now, or did lately, belong. The Cauſeway runs in an eminent elevation through this now farm-yard; and the woodlands to the North, which the map obſerves, make it ſtill retain the appearance of foreſt [*b*]. Dr. Stukeley

[*b*] The town of Andover itſelf was part of, or had a ſtrong relation to, this royal foreſt in queen Elizabeth's time. In the charter granted by that queen, ſhe directs the corporation to deviſe a common ſeal to be affixed to their writings, &c. They accordingly choſe it to be a lion ſtanding under an oaken tree, which denotes a royal foreſt, and is now their arms or common ſeal. I have been favoured with the ſight of a writing in the poſſeſſion of an honourable gentleman, in his collection of ſome curious papers of lord Burleigh's, which corroborates this, and ſhews the extent of Chute foreſt, Hants. It is intituled " A ſurvey of the foreſt of Chute Wiltſhire and Chute Hampſhire, by Mr. John Tavernor, hir majeſties ſurveyor general, &c. Jan. 9, 1589-90, relating to firewood allowed out of the foreſt to Wincheſter College." It ſays, " The warden and ſcholars of the College of St. Mary Winton have yerely by your honours warrant xxvi loades of woode to be taken of deede trees, dottardes, and thornes in Wakeſwood and Finckley, for the firewood of Nicholas Venables,

Stukeley appears to have gone on this road from Silcheſter to Andover without obſerving that he was upon it; but that he was, is proved by his mention of croſſing Wanſdyke intrenchment, which this Cauſeway does juſt before it enters the great incloſure of Finckly, but which no other road does.

The Doctor ſpeaks of a ſquare Roman camp in a park on a high promontory above Kingſcleer. This camp is drawn by Mr. Taylor in his map, with the Portway running by the bottom of it on the South ſide, Kingſcleer being at the bottom on the North ſide. From Freemantle park the Portway is ſo conſpicuous, and appears to the view for ſome miles in ſo ſtreight a line over an open country, that, as the Doctor obſerves, even an incurious traveller muſt be ſtruck with the proſpect, but an Antiquary muſt ſee at once that it is a Roman Cauſeway.

From Finckly this road runs to Andover. At the meeting of two of the currents which form the Andover river, viz. thoſe from Charlton and Inham, about half a mile N. W. from Andover, the Portway croſſes the river; the Cauſeway raiſed acroſs the vale here by its elevation, extent, and breadth ſhews the grandeur of the Romans in their works of this kind. This cauſeway extends acroſs the vale: the perpendicular height of its ridge, from the ſurface of the river that runs through it, is

Venables, gent. farmer of the parſonage of Andover, over and beſydes xl loades yerely lykewiſe allowed them of the underwoodes of Finckly now in leaſe," &c. As Finckly and Wakeſwood the two extreme ends of Chute foreſt Hants, are hereby aſcertained, another paſſage in Camden ſeems to ſhew that the intermediate ſpace to the North of Andover was in thoſe times alſo a part of the ſame; it ſays, "the river which we now call Teſt, riſing out of Chute foreſt, runs firſt to Andover." The ſprings which by uniting form the Andover river are from the bottom of Wayhill, or Clanvill, to Eaſtanton, including the intermediate ſprings of the two Pentons, Foſcot, Charlton and Inham, all which I ſuppoſe were in Mr. Camden's time in Chute foreſt Hants; for in Chute foreſt Wilts no ſpring ſupplying a river ever exiſted.

eight

eight yards. The vale between the Cauſeway and Inham, where the ſpring riſes, was formerly a pond, ſo that the Cauſeway was, as at Alresford, the ſtank or head. There is no bridge over the opening through which the river runs, nor any appearance of there having been one; but I am inclined to think there was formerly a mill here, becauſe the field adjoining to the North ſide is called Mill-field, and I have ſeen a very large overſhot mill at Waltham turned by the fall of the water of Waltham pond, the bay of which I take to be made by the Roman road from Wincheſter to Portcheſter.

Dr. Stukeley names this way the Icening-ſtreet, and where it runs over an open country to Stretford, calls it *Port-lane*, inſtead of *Portway*, though in fact no one in the neighbourhood ever knew it by any other than the latter name.

There is a remarkable tree on the Cauſey [*c*], under which the repreſentatives of Old Sarum are choſen, and by a reſolution of the Houſe of Commons in . . . . . the owners of the lands of the ſite of that city, as alſo of other lands nominated as reaching from thence to Stretford, on both ſides the *Port-way*, are the electors.

Dr. Stukeley has given a view [*d*] of Old Sarum and Saliſbury from an encampment which the country people call *Figbury-ring* (and which Mr. Camden in his map of Wilts calls *Frippeſbury*, or *Trippeſbury*), and in it he gives a view of the Cauſeway (from *Brige*) of the modern poſt-road from Andover to Saliſbury, and a portion of the *Port-way*, which he calls the *Icening-ſtreet*, up the hill beyond Stretford; but what ſeems a wilful omiſſion is, that, to avoid the view of the Portway in its eaſtern courſe from Andover to Old Sarum, he ſhews no road

[*c*] So ſaid about twenty years ago.

[*d*] Vol. I. plate 66.

at

at all from that eaſtern courſe, though that courſe of the real *Port-way*, and his imaginary *Icening-ſtreet* from Chute Cauſeway, are within the compaſs of his plate. He ſhews the way from Wincheſter croſſing the Bourn river at Ford, and its courſe from thence to Old Sarum; and, when he viewed this, he could not but ſee alſo the *Port-way* croſſing that river near *Porton* (to which it gives name) running thence, in full ſight of a perſon ſtanding on the top of Figbury-ring, to the Eaſt gate of Old Sarum. In his view of Old Sarum [*e*] he has marked it as the *Icening-ſtreet*.

[Mr. Hutchins, in his hiſtory of Dorſetſhire, follows Dr. Stukeley in calling this the *Ikenild-ſtreet*, and adopts his account of its paſſage from Norfolk into Wilts, together with his miſtake in calling it *Port-lane* inſtead of *Port-way*, at Stretford; but in its progreſs through Dorſetſhire he corrects other errors of the Doctor's, deſcribes it minutely, and ſuppoſes it goes to Exeter.]

Mr. Willis claims the merit of firſt diſcovering this road from Silcheſter to Andover, and thence to Old Sarum, and obſerves that though the law of St. Edward [*f*] touching the four Roman ways, the Watling-ſtreet, Foſſe, Ikineld-ſtreet and Erming-ſtreet, mentions two of them running in the length, and two in the breadth of the kingdom, yet Dr. Stukeley's hypotheſis makes one only in the length, and three in the breadth.

[*e*] Vol. I. plate 65.

[*f*] Pax regis multiplex eſt—alia quam habent quatuor chemini, Watling-ſtrete, Foſſe, Hikenild-ſtrete, et Erming ſtrete, quorum duo in longitudinem regni, alii duo in latitudinem diſtenduntur. Horſley, Brit. Rom. p. 387.

XII. *Mr.* Willis's *Account of the Battles between* Edmund Ironſide *and* Canute.

Read February 9, 1786.

MR. WILLIS, in endeavouring to aſcertain the place where ſome battles were fought between Edmund Ironſide and Canute, which are mentioned by our old hiſtorians in ſuch a manner as to have left the ſpot doubtful to Mr. Camden and others, obſerves, that Dr. Stukeley, in his letter to lord Pembroke, ſpeaking of *Figbury-ring*, near Saliſbury, ſays, "To the eaſt is *Clarendon*, which your lordſhip firſt obſerved "from old writings ought to be called *Clorendun*, from the fa-"mous camp half a mile off the park near the Roman road; "this was made or repaired by Conſtantius Chlorus, father of "Conſtantine the Great: this camp therefore properly written "is *Chloridunum*, being a beautiful fortification of a round form, "on a dry chalky hill."

To this, ſays Mr. Willis, I cannot agree, it being, as the Doctor obſerves, perfectly circular. It is generally allowed that the camps of the Romans were angular, thoſe of the Saxons and Danes circular. I ſhould therefore call this *Canute's Camp*. In the long ſtruggle between the Danes and Saxons, theſe ſouthern parts of the kingdom were more remarkably the ſeat of the war, ſo that the Belgæ ſhew more of their antiquities, viz. camps and barrows, than the northern counties, where the Roman monuments of antiquity more abound. Figbury-ring, Nedbury-

Nedbury-hill, Quarley-hill, Dunbury (or properly Danebury) hill, Bury-hill, Bakeſbury-hill, are all fine encampments of a circular form, with a vaſt many barrows attending them. Theſe, and particularly one called *Canute's barrow* (ſhewn in Mr. Taylor's map of Hants), and another between Figbury-ring and Old Sarum called *An-barrow*, ſituate on the Portway between Andover and Old Sarum, are evident proofs that many battles were fought in this ſpace, and in that between Wincheſter and Old Sarum.

The accounts of that time are ſhort and imperfect; and various have been the opinions as to the ſituation of ſome of the places named as the ſcenes of action.

The Saxon Chronicle [*a*], William of Malmeſbury [*b*], and Henry of Huntingdon [*c*], ſpeak of one battle fought at Peonna near Gillingham in Dorſetſhire, and of another at *Sceorſtan*. This *Sceorſtan*, Mr. Camden thinks, muſt be the four ſhire ſtones near Rolrich in Oxfordſhire, parting the four counties of Oxford, Warwick, Glouceſter, and Worceſter [*d*]; his right reverend annotator makes it to be *Sherſtan* in the N. W. of Wilts [*e*]. Speed fixes it at *Shereſtan* in Worceſterſhire.

Roger de Hoveden ſays, that Edmund haſtened into Dorſetſhire to meet Canute, fought with him at Peonna near Gillingham, and beat him. Afterwards, in the middle of ſummer, he got together a greater army to fight Canute, who met him in Hwiccia [*f*] in a place called *Ceorſtan*, where though the perfidious Edric and many others had joined the Dane, the battle was ſo long and obſtinate, that when the ſun ſet the two

[*a*] Sub anno 1016. [*b*] Lib. ii. 40.
[*c*] Lib. vi. 208. [*d*] V. I. 293. col. 1. ad fin.
[*e*] V. I. 195. col. 2.
[*f*] Gibſon ſays the Wiccii inhabited part of Glouceſter, Worceſter, and Warwick, ſhires. Brit. v. I. 456.

armies parted from mere wearineſs. The next day Edmund would have entirely routed Canute, but for a ſtratagem of Edric: notwithſtanding which they fought till the duſk of the evening, and then, as the day before, being ſpent with fatigue, parted by conſent. Canute quitted his camp ſilently in the night, and went towards London, which when Edmund found in the morning, he went into the country of the Weſt Saxons [*g*].

Polydore Vergil [*h*] gives an account of three ſucceſſive battles, and is much more particular. He ſays,

" Canuto feſtinante cum Edmundo confligere quem interea audierat Andoveram, qui eſt pagus ad milliaria xv prope Sariſberiam, reverſum eſſe; quo ubi pervenit, caſtra in conſpectu hoſtium *loco plano* poſuit, ſuoſque in aciem eduxit. Nec recuſavit certamen Edmundus, ut ſigna ab hoſte efferri vidit: ab horâ tertiâ jam fermè ad noctem pugnam extraxerant, et ipſa pugna in neutram partem inclinata adhuc ſtabat, cum Edricus prælio egreſſus, Anglos territandi causâ, in ſpeculam quandam aſcendit, ibique vociferans Edmundum interemptum gladium oſtendebat cruore manantem; quem ita clamitantem nihil proprius factum quam ut ſagittarii Angli interficerent. Ceterum ea res autoribus haud bono fuit, Anglus eâ indignatione accenſus, ſuos ſimul cohortatus, tanto impetu in hoſtes prorupit, ut primum e loco moverit, dein animis ferventibus, fugavit; feciſſet ingentem cædem ſi per noctem, quæ jam multa erat, licuiſſet.

" Canutus profligatus, totam noctem itinere facto Vintoniam verſus in locum tutum ſe recipit. Edmundus verò hoſtem minime perſecutus, Sarisberiam flexit iter, opem laturus civibus qui ab altero Dacorum manu oppugnabantur.

" Adfuit *non multo poſt* Canutus. Tum non longè ab urbe iterum inſtructis aciebus manum conſerunt; fit pugna atrox,

[*g*] Pars I. 249. b.
[*h*] Lib. VII. p. 169, 170.

recentibus animis corporibuſque, quam æquo marte utrinque diu commiſſam nox omnibus jam feſſis militibus diremit.

" *Poſtero die* Angli a ſole orto uſque eo in acie ſtetere dum Canutus in certamen deſcendit; pugnatum eſt acriter, pari tamen eventu, et multâ utriuſque partis cæde, et cum jam veſper diei inſtaret, æquo prælio diſceſſum eſt.

" Deindè altero die uterque exercitus per otium cibum capiunt; ac heſterno prælio interfectos in unum congeſtos cremant, neque interea arma deponunt. Plus viginti millia hominum utrinque deſiderata."

Whatever doubts there may have been as to the ſite of *Sceorſtan*, Mr. Willis thinks he can fix the place where the battles mentioned by Polydore were fought, and probably *that* near *Sceorſtan* was one of them.

He ſays, Canute marched from London to attack Edmund in the Weſt near Andover. The Portway runs through Andover to *Sarſtan* adjoining to Way-hill [*i*]. The firſt of theſe battles wherein Edric attempted to throw the Engliſh army into confuſion, according to Polydore, was fought *in loco plano*, not far from Andover, and probably in *Sarſtan-fields* near Way-hill. From Way-hill Canute's flight to Wincheſter in one night was but about a dozen miles; nor was Edmund's march the next morning to Old Sarum a much greater diſtance, and on the military Portway. In further proof that this was the ſpot on which the battle was fought, it is to be obſerved that there is one large barrow at Penton, and about four more upon, and on the edge of, the hill, of which one is adjoining to *Sceorſtan* or *Sarſtan* field, all an open country, *in loco plano*.

Canute may be ſuppoſed to have recruited his forces at Wincheſter; for in no long time after this defeat Polydore ſays, not

[*i*] Way-hill may be ſo called from its vicinity to the Port-way; Penton Grafton is in this parith.

far

far from the city (viz. Old Sarum, which Edmund had marched to relieve) he again offered battle, and *deſcended* to fight the Engliſh. This may be eaſily explained that Canute had marched on the Roman road, and made Figbury-ring his camp, from whence *(deſcendit)* he came down to fight the two ſucceeding days, in the valley between his camp and Old Sarum. The large barrow called *An-barrow*, ſituate near the Bourn river, on the oppoſite ſide from the camp, and near the city, was probably the place of action, and the burial place of the 20,000 burnt bodies ſlain in the two battles.

Upon the whole, Mr. Willis thinks it much more reaſonable to give *Figbury-ring* the name of *Campus Canuti*, than that of *Campus Chlori*; and that the accounts of any of theſe battles, as related by Mr. Camden, Dr. Gibſon and Mr. Speed, muſt appear very improbable, when ſo eaſily accounted for by Canute's flight to Wincheſter, and Edmund's march to Old Sarum; and when another Sarſtan, unnoticed by them, is found, correſponding therewith.

XIII. *Obſervations*

XIII. *Obſervations on antient Spurs.* *By* Francis Groſe, *Eſq. F. A. S.* *In a Letter to* John Topham, *Eſq.*

Read March 3, 1785.

SIR,

HAVING obſerved that the equeſtrian figures on the Great Seals of moſt of our kings and ancient barons from the Conqueſt to the time of Edward III. are repreſented with ſpurs conſiſting of only one point, ſomewhat reſembling the gaffle with which fighting cocks are armed, I have endeavoured to trace out the origin of theſe ſpurs, which appear to have been worn after the invention of the rouelle, or wheel ſpur (ſo called from the revolution of its ſpicula about an axis), ſeveral of our kings and great barons being on different ſeals ſometimes repreſented with one, and ſometimes with the other ſpecies.

At what period ſpurs were firſt invented ſeems unknown. Common ſenſe points out that they muſt be nearly coeval with the art of riding on horſeback, a man kicking a dull or tired horſe would ſoon diſcover he ſtood in need of a more powerful ſtimulus than his heels, and it does not ſeem to require any extraordinary effort of genius to invent and fix to the feet ſome kind of ſpur or goad.

That the Romans had ſpurs, at leaſt as early as the Auguſtan age, is proved by the concurrent teſtimony of diverſe writers. Notwithſtanding this, for ſome reaſon not eaſy to diſcover, among the many equeſtrian figures, that have ſurvived the ravages

vages of war, time, and weather, none of the riders are repreſented with ſpurs, or any equivalent contrivance.

Cicero makes uſe of the word *calcar*, to ſignify a ſpur, and alſo uſes that term in a metaphorical ſenſe, as, ſuch an one wants a bridle, ſuch an one a ſpur, to intimate, that one was too quick, and the other too ſlow.

Virgil phraſes the ſpur, a heel ſhod with iron; Æneid. ii. v. 714.

Quadrupedemque citum ferratâ calce fatigat.

And Silius Italicus, vii. 696.

Ferrata calce atque effuſa largus habena
Cunctantem impellebat equum.

Livy mentions ſpurs: xxii. 6. "Subditiſque calcaribus equo per confertiſſimam hoſtium turbam impetus fecit." And Plautus Aſin. 3. 3. 118. "Nam jam calcari quadrupedem agitabo adverſum clivum." Many more inſtances might be cited, but theſe it is conceived will be full ſufficient.

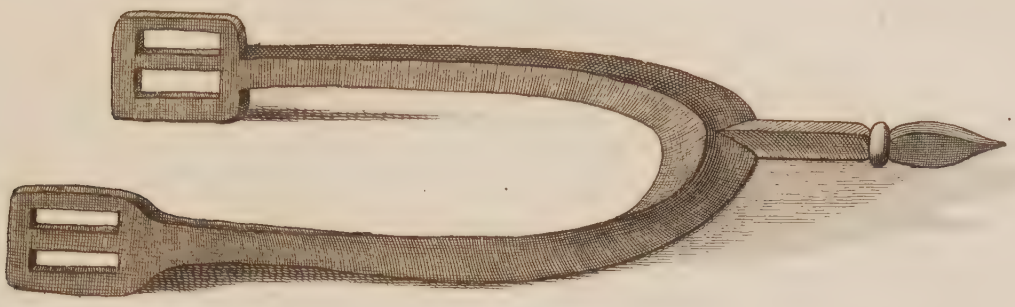
Montfaucon ſuppoſes that the ancient ſpurs were ſmall points of iron faſtened to a little plate of metal fixed to the ſhoe, on the ſide of the heel, for ſuch he has ſeen worn by the peaſants in France; and to ſuch points he conceives that ſentence in the Acts of the Apoſtles [*a*] to allude, "It is hard to kick againſt the pricks," the ſame as is uſed by Terence [*b*], who ſays, "Contra ſtimulum ne calces;" he alſo gives the delineation of an antient ſpur, conſiſting of a point fixed to an iron ſemicircle, contrived to hook upon the ſhoe. A copy of this is given among the other ſketches; ſee N° 1. Pl. III.

This kind of ſpur is found on many of our antient monuments, particularly on thoſe croſs-legged figures, vulgarly though improperly called Knights Templars, as well on thoſe in relief as thoſe engraved on braſs plates; a very elegant ſpeci-

[*a*] IX. 5. [*b*] Phorm. l. ii. 28.

men

Fig. 4.



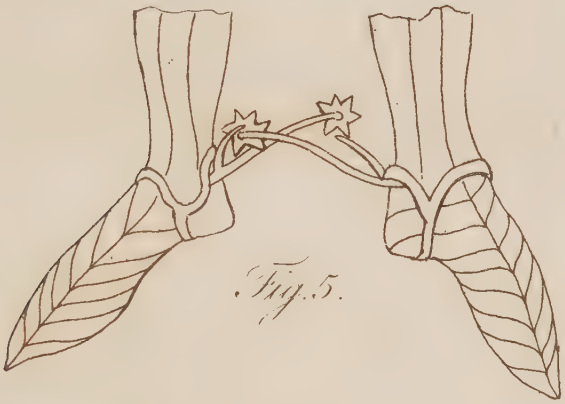
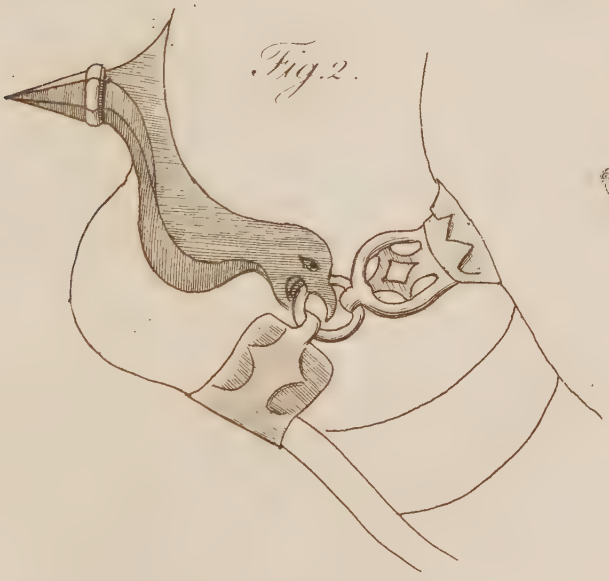


Fig. 5.

Fig. 2.



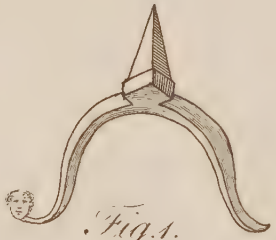


Fig. 1.

Fig. 3.

Antient Spurs.

Fig. 1.

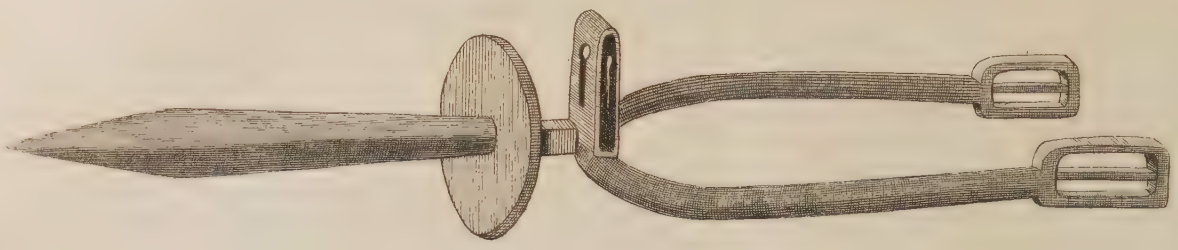
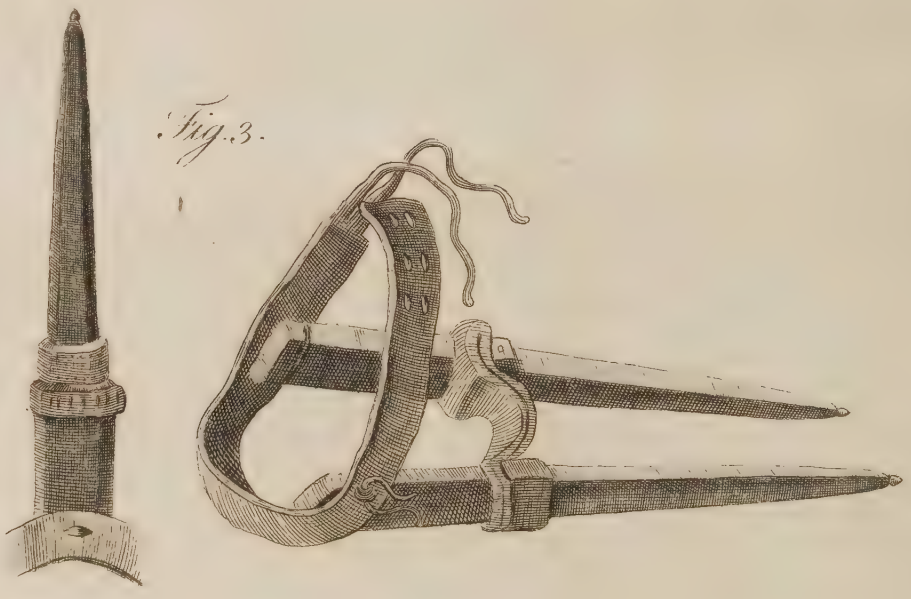


Fig. 3.



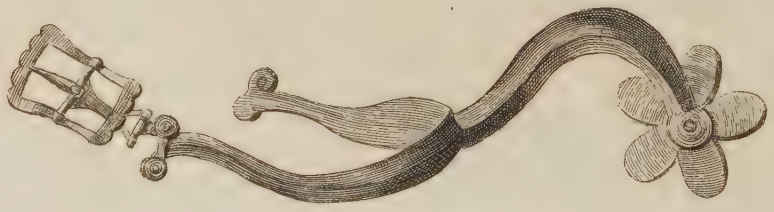


Fig. 2.

Antient Spurs.

men taken from the figure of the earl of Cornwall in Weſtminſter Abbey is ſhewn in Pl. III. fig. 2.

Randal Holmes in his Academy of Armory has a figure of one of theſe ſpurs digged up at Cheſter in the year 1670. He ſays ſome term it a *gag* ſpur, and ſuppoſes from its magnitude that it belonged to a giant. See a ſketch of it Pl. III. fig. 3.

Spurs conſiſting of only one point, but of an enormous length and thickneſs, are ſtill, or were very lately, worn by the Moors. A drawing of one of them of the ſame ſize as the original is here exhibited in Pl. IV. fig. 1. It formerly belonged to the Rev. Mr. Goſtling of Canterbury. Similar ſpecimens are in the collection at Don Saltero's Coffee-houſe in Chelſea, and Sir Aſhton Lever's Muſeum.

Blount in his Law Dictionary mentions a ſpur of this kind, which he calls a *pryck*, and cites a charter in the 1ſt of Richard II. of certain lands held by Sir Nicholas de Langforde in Kinvald-merſh c. Derby by the ſervice of finding one horſe, one ſack and one pryck for the king's wars in Wales. He likewiſe adds, that this ſort of ſpur was worn by a body of light horſemen in the reign of Henry VIII. thence called *prickers*. But with reſpect to this laſt cited authority, it ſeems doubtful whether the pryck mentioned in this and diverſe other charters, does not mean a goad [*c*], ſuch as is uſed for the driving of oxen, particularly as by the ſack, the horſe here mentioned ſeems intended for the carriage of baggage, and beſides only one pryck is mentioned, which could not have been the caſe with the ſpur unleſs the ſame reaſoning was then adopted, that has ſince been made uſe of by Butler in his Hudibras.

As a farther elucidation of the ſubject, I endeavoured to procure an authentic ſpecimen of this ſort of ſpur, and in vain for

[*c*] Blount explains it ſo in his Jocular Tenures, and ſays it is elſewhere in Latin called *compunctum*.

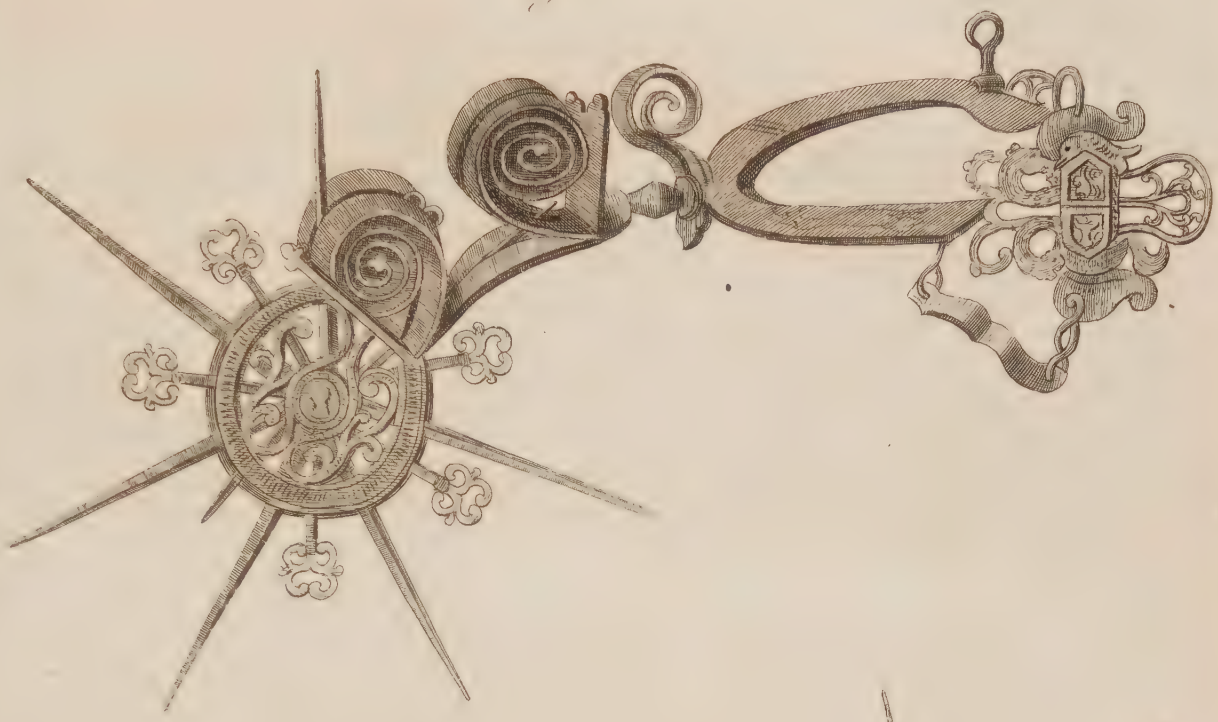
ſome time ſearched the Britiſh Muſeum, that of Sir Aſhton Lever, and diverſe private collections, but at length was ſo lucky as to diſcover a very complete one of iron in the cabinet of Francis Robſon, Eſq. of Chelſea, found in the pariſh of N. Stoke, Oxfordſhire, and to hear of another of braſs in the poſſeſſion of Guſtavus Brander, Eſq. Of the firſt a drawing is here given, Pl. III. fig. 4. The other being packed up in a large cheſt, I could not get a ſight of it, but by Mr. Brander's deſcription it ſeems to be older and more ornamented than that belonging to Mr. Robſon.

The *rouelle* or wheel ſpur, though evidently an after-thought or improvement on the pryck, was, as I have before obſerved, worn in common with it, about the time of the Conqueſt. It had however the ſuperiority in many inſtances: if the point was broken or bent in the pryck ſpur it became entirely uſeleſs, whereas by the rotation of the wheel the place was ſupplied with a ſucceſſion of others, and the ſame motion prevented its injuring the horſe.

The points of the antient rouelle or rowell ſpurs were of a great length, an inſtance of which occurs in the ſpur, Pl. V. fig. 1. drawn from one of the ſame ſize, late in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Goſtling. The length of its rowels from the centre to the point is three inches, of the neck of the ſpur on a ſtrait line four inches. Its weight ten ounces and a quarter. It was diſcovered in digging the foundation for the Obeliſk on Barnet Common, Middleſex, erected in memory of the bloody battle fought on that ſpot, between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, in which battle it is probable its owner fell, and was buried on the field of battle.

Fauchet the French antiquary thus mentions theſe large ſpurs, " Quant aux hommes de cheval, ils chauſſoient des " chauſſes faites des mailles, des eperons a molettes auſſi larges

Fig. 2.



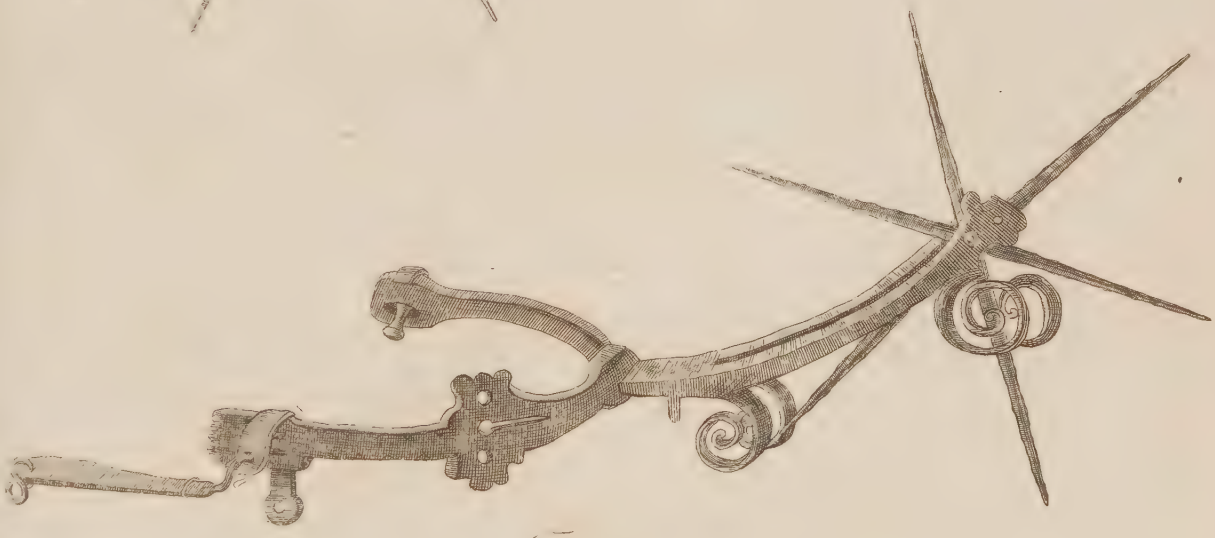


Fig. 1.

Antient Spurs.

" que la paume de la main: car c'eſt un viel mot que la che-
" valier commence a s'armer par les chauſſes."

On ſome antient braſs funeral plates we meet with a kind of ſpur ſeemingly partaking of both the pryck and rowell ſpurs, the drawing Pl. III. fig. 5. taken from the collection of Craven Orde, Eſq. will convey the form much more intelligibly than can be done by words. I ſhall only obſerve that the ſingle point ſeems entirely calculated for ſhew, as from its ſhortneſs it can never reach the horſe.

It would be endleſs to point out the different ſorts of rowell ſpurs. Drawings of two are here given, Pl. V. fig. 2. drawn from an iron ſpur of the ſame ſize, now to be ſeen at Don Saltero's Coffee-Houſe, Chelſea, and ſaid to have been taken by lord Anſon on board the Acapulco ſhip. It weighs one pound and three quarters avoirdupoiſe. From its weight and ſize it could hardly have been worn, but was in all likelyhood intended to be carried in ſome ſolemn proceſſion, inſtallment, or funeral.

The other Pl. IV. fig. 2. in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Rawle, military accoutrement-maker in the Strand, ſeems calculated for walking in proceſſions, the roundneſs and bluntneſs of its mollets preventing its hitching in the robes of the wearer.

I ſhall conclude this paper with introducing the drawing Pl. IV. fig. 3. repreſenting a ſort of double pryck ſpur, or goad, made of box wood, and ſeemingly not very antient. This alſo belongs to Mr. Rawle.

XIV. *Account of the diſcoveries in digging a Sewer in* Lombard-ſtreet *and* Birchin-lane, 1786. *In a Letter to Mr.* Gough, *and communicated by him.*

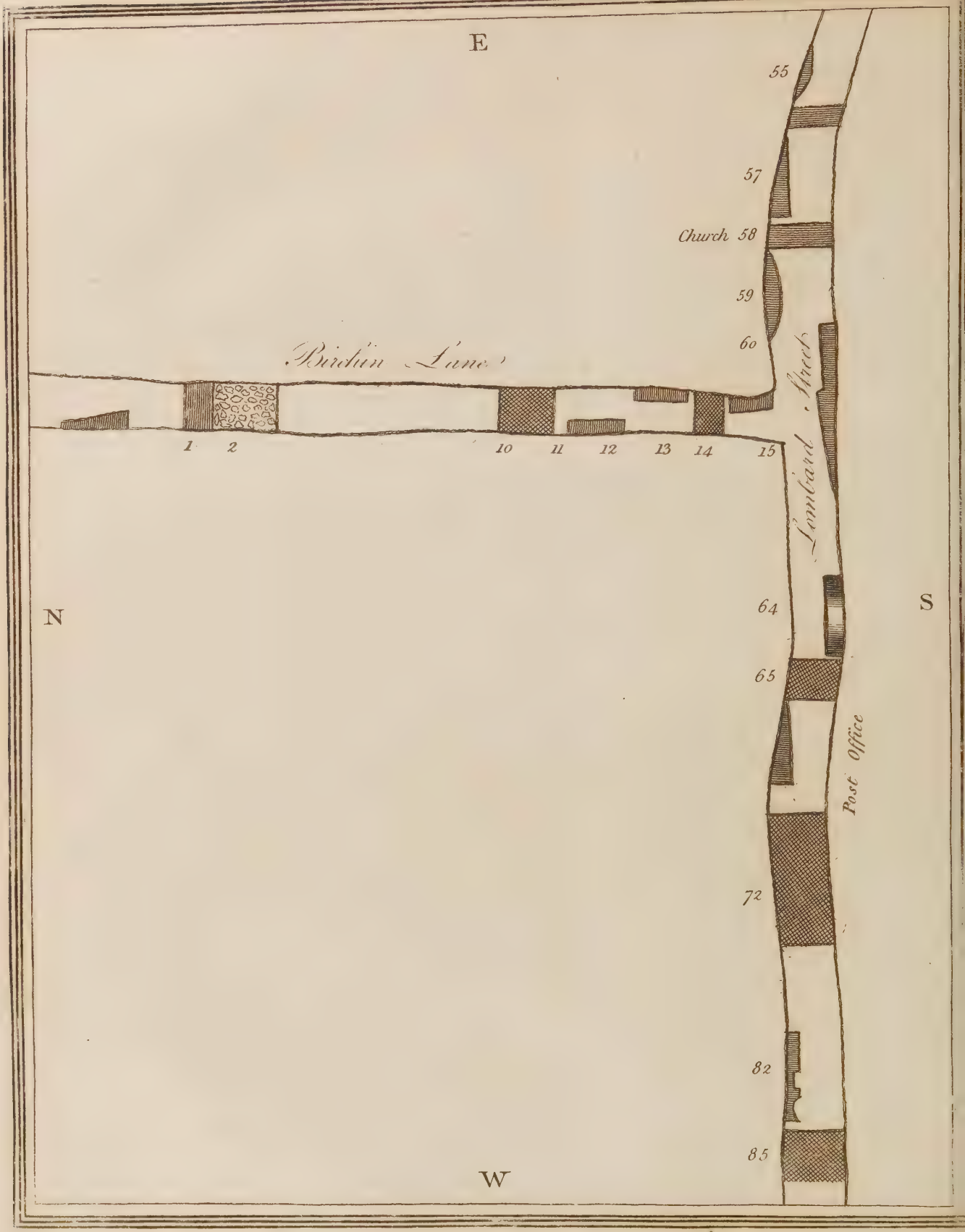
Read February 16, 1786.

Dear Sir,

YOU have expreſſed a wiſh that I ſhould give you as exact an account as I am able of the diſcoveries which have lately been made by the workmen who were employed in digging a new ſewer in Lombard-ſtreet and Birchin-lane. In matters of this ſort minute exactneſs as to ſituation can be of little importance, but the modern cuſtom of numbering the houſes will enable me to point out the places of moſt of the ruins with tolerable accuracy. Some ſmall progreſs had been made in the work before I heard of it. About the latter end of October I was informed by a friend that many fragments of old pavement were dug up, and on enquiring I found that not only pavements, but walls, ſome coins, and numberleſs fragments of earthen ware of various forms and ſorts were daily diſcovered which bore the moſt undoubted evidence of their antiquity and their Roman origin. I ſhall endeavour to give you firſt an account of the diſcoveries of the pavements and walls, in order to the underſtanding which you will recollect that Lombard-ſtreet runs nearly from the Manſion-houſe at the Weſt to Grace-church-ſtreet at the Eaſt end, and conſequently that Birchin-lane runs nearly from Lombard-ſtreet South to Cornhill North.

I ſhall then add a catalogue of ſuch coins as were found, with an account in whoſe poſſeſſion they are at preſent.

And


E
55
57
Church 58
59
60
Birchin Lane
Lombard Street
1
2
10
11
12
13
14
15
N
64
S
65
Post Office
72
82
85
W

And I ſhall finiſh with a ſet of drawings of ſuch earthen and other utenſils as were any ways remarkable for their materials or form, and which are in my poſſeſſion [*a*]. Many of theſe you will perceive to be exactly ſimilar to others which have been found in Roman ſtations in Britain and on the Continent.

A more compleat collection of theſe is in the hands of a perſon who being reſident on the very place of the diſcovery, had the beſt and earlieſt opportunity of becoming poſſeſſed of what was the object of his curioſity, and to whom both you and I, Sir, are obliged for the moſt unreſerved and liberal communication.

A very rude plan [*b*] not drawn from actual meaſurement accompanies this paper, which it may ſerve to explain. It will alſo anſwer the purpoſe of ſhewing the direction of the fragments of the walls, ſome of which projected into the ſewer, and were by no means parallel to the direction of its ſides. Such was the wall found on the North ſide of the ſewer near the Poſt Office.

In the interval between thoſe houſes which are numbered from 82 to 85, at the depth of about nine feet from the ſurface a pavement was found compoſed of ſmall rough ſtones, and about three feet below this, that is about twelve feet from the ſurface, another pavement was diſcovered of the kind uſually ſuppoſed to be Roman, and compoſed of ſmall irregular bricks moſt of them red, but ſome few black and ſome white. Though they were of irregular form they did not differ much in ſize, being in length about two inches, and in breadth one inch and a half. They were roughly cemented with a yellowiſh mortar, and were laid in a thick bed of coarſe mortar and ſtones.

[*a*] A liſt of theſe articles is ſubjoined to this paper, and from them were ſelected thoſe engraven in plates VI. VII. VIII. IX. X.

[*b*] See plate V*.

The

The extent of this pavement from North to South could not be diſcovered, as it exceeded the breadth of the ſewer. From Weſt to Eaſt it extended about twenty feet. Near this pavement Eaſtward, on the North ſide parallel with the ſide of the ſewer ſtood a wall compoſed of the ſmaller ſized Roman brick, about ten feet high and eighteen feet long, in which were two flues near each other, one ſemicircular, the other rectangular and oblong, the top of this wall was about ten feet below the ſurface of the ſtreet.

In the interval between the houſes numbered 72 and 82 were found large fragments of different kinds of pavements, ſome of the common teſſelated kind, ſome ſmall teſſerae of different colours, ſome channelled tiles of various kinds (ſee the figures 95, 96, 97, 98,) and ſome large pieces of coloured ſtucco.

Near the Poſt Office on the North ſide of the ſewer about fourteen feet under the ſurface was found a wall of the uſual Roman ſtructure. From the top for about two feet down was rough work, and then regular layers of flat bricks at ſmaller intervals. Near this wall, but not more than nine feet below the ſurface, was a pavement of flat tiles, whoſe length was about one foot five inches and four-tenths of an inch, breadth one foot three-tenths of an inch, thickneſs three-tenths of an inch.

Oppoſite the houſe N° 64 on the South ſide of the ſewer at the depth of twenty feet was found a piece of ſolid archwork compoſed of ſtones of irregular forms, and yellow mortar almoſt as hard as the ſtones themſelves. See fig. 131. Walls of the ſame materials as that deſcribed oppoſite the Poſt Office were found on the South ſide of the ſewer, nearly oppoſite to the end of Birchin-lane, and on the North ſide near the houſes numbered 59, 57, and 55.

Oppoſite the houſes numbered 55 and 58 two walls compoſed of the ſame materials croſſed the ſewer. They were about two feet and a half in thickneſs.

At

At the end of December the work in Lombard-ſtreet being compleated, that in Birchin-lane was begun, and the following numbers therefore refer to houſes in that lane.

Oppoſite the houſes numbered 15 and 13 on the Eaſt ſide of the ſewer, and near N° 12 on the Weſt ſide, and at the North end of the lane on the Weſt ſide of the ſewer were walls of the ſame materials as that near the Poſt Office in Lombard-ſtreet.

Oppoſite N° 14 was a pavement of coarſe teſſerae of the length of about five feet, which evidently lay on a ſlope deſcending northwards.

Oppoſite N° 11 were large fragments of ſmall teſſelated figured pavement. The teſſerae meaſured about one-fourth of an inch in each dimenſion, and were of different colours.

Oppoſite N° 2, at the depth of about fourteen feet was found a pavement of chalkſtones.

Oppoſite N° 1 a wall croſſed the ſewer, and near the Weſt corner of the lane was a wall on the Weſt ſide of the ſewer.

Articles

Articles found in *Lombard-ſtreet* and *Birchin-lane*, numbered as drawn, and exhibited to the Society, ſeveral of which are engraved in the five Plates hereunto annexed.

1. NECK of a veſſel of the common cream-coloured ware; the diameter including the rim is three inches one-tenth.

2. Another, of the ſame ware; diameter three inches three-tenths.

3. Another, common red ware; diameter three inches two-tenths.

4. Another, white ware; diameter three inches.

5. Another, red ware coloured, white on the outſide; diameter three inches.

6. Another, cream-coloured ware.

7. Another, the ſame ware; diameter two inches three-tenths.

8, 9. Two others, common white ware.

10. Another, coarſe white ware; diameter five inches three-tenths.

11. Another, very coarſe dark-brown ware; diameter one inch one-tenth.

12. Another, fine light-brown ware.

13. Another, white ware; diameter two inches one-tenth.

14. Another, light red ware.

15. Another, very coarſe brown ware; the rim is one inch ſeven-tenths thick.

16. Another, ſmooth brown ware; diameter eight-tenths of an inch, length of the handle two inches three-tenth. Pl. VI. fig. 1.

17. The ſpout of a veſſel light red ware; three inches three-tenths in length. Pl. VI. fig. 2.

18. Neck of a veſſel red ware, coloured white on the outſide.

19. Another, light-brown ware; diameter one inch ſix-tenths.

20. Another, ſhining black ware; diameter two inches one-tenth.

21. Another, ſmooth light-brown ware; diameter two inches one-tenth.

22. Another, common cream-coloured ware; diameter four inches and a half. Pl. VI. fig. 3.

23. Another, light-brown ware; diameter two inches one-fourth.

24. Another, white ware; diameter three inches five-eighths.

25. Another, coarſe light-brown ware; diameter four inches three-tenths.

26. Another, grey ware, ſize of the figure.

27. Another, red ware coloured light-yellow on the outſide, ſize the ſame as the figure.

27*. Another, coarſe reddiſh ware; diameter two inches three-fifths.

28. Another, coarſe red ware, ſize of the figure. Pl. VI. fig. 4.

28*. Another, coarſe brown ware; diameter two inches ſeven-tenths.

29. Another, light-brown ware; diameter ſix inches, on the handle is the word CARO. Pl. VI. fig. 5.

29*. Another, light-brown ware, height three inches. Pl. VI. fig. 7.

30. Another, common cream-coloured ware of the ſize of the figure, like 22 in ſhape.

30*. Another, coarſe brown ware, ſize of the figure. Pl. VI. fig. 6.

31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41. Fragments of ſhining coral-coloured ware of the ſame ſize as the figures, 31, 32 are engraved Pl. VI. fig. 8. 9.

N°s 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. 39, 40, 41, are engraved Pl. VII. fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

N° 38 is engraved Pl. VIII. fig. 6.

42. A. Fragment of a veſſel, coral-coloured ware; diameter ſix inches three-fourths, depth two inches one-tenth. Pl. VIII. fig. 1.

42. B. The ſame to ſhew the ornaments.

43, 44. Fragments of pateræ, fine coral-coloured ware, ſize of the figures.

45. Another fragment of the ſame ware; diameter ſix inches and a half, depth one inch, in the center is the word CHIA.

46. Fragment of an ornamented veſſel, fine coral-coloured ware. Pl. VIII. fig. 2.

46*. Another, differently ornamented. Pl. VIII. fig. 3.

46**. The ſame to ſhew the ornaments.

47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62. Fragments of ornamented fine coral-coloured ware. N°s 51, 52. 58, 59, 60. are engraved Pl. VIII. fig. 4. 5. Pl. IX. fig. 1. 2. 3.

62*. Fragment of the ſame ware. Pl. IX. fig. 4.

63. Another fragment of a ſmall veſſel of the ſame ware.

63*. Another; diameter two inches and a half, depth half an inch.

64. Fragment of fine black ware with an ornamented border.

64*. Fragment of coral-coloured ware; diameter four inches two-tenths, depth one inch two-tenths.

65. Another fragment of the ſame ware.

65*. Fragment of a veſſel of dull coral-coloured ware.

66. Fragment of fine coral-coloured ware, border ornamented.

66*. Fragment of a flat veſſel of fine coral-coloured ware.

67. Another fragment of the ſame ware; in the center are the letters CRC° ‖ R.

67*. Another ſlightly ornamented near the center, in which are the letters MARCIF.

68, 69, 70. Fragments of fine brown ware, ſlightly ornamented.

71. Fragment of dull red ware ſlightly ornamented.

72. A veſſel almoſt perfect, light red ware. Pl. IX. fig. 5.

73. Another of the ſame ſhape, dull red ware. Pl. IX. fig. 6.

74. Bottom of a veſſel, white ware. Pl. IX. fig. 7.

75. Fragment of a very large veſſel, very coarſe dark-grey ware.

76. Fragment of a veſſel, fine grey ware ornamented. Pl. IX. fig. 8.

77. Fragment of fine black ware ornamented. Pl. X. fig. 1.

77 A. Another fragment of black ware, depth one inch and a half.

77 B. Another, coarſe light-red ornamented.

77 C. Another, light grey fine ware.

77 D. Another grey.

77 E. Another grey.

77 F. Another fine black.

77 G. Another fine grey.

77 H. Another fine ſhining grey.

77 I. Another dull grey.

77 K. Another fine ſhining black.

77 L. Another dull grey.

77 M. Another dull grey.

78. A perfect veſſel, dark brown coarſe ware. Pl. X. fig. 2.

79. A fragment of glaſs, dark-blue ground, the marks are ſtained red, green, and various colours. Pl. X. fig. 3.

80. Another fragment of glaſs, white and curiouſly ornamented. Pl. X. fig. 4.

81. Another fragment of glaſs. Pl. X. fig. 5.

82. Lid of a veſſel, of earthen ware; the inſide and rims are white, the reſt is dark-brown and highly glazed. Pl. X. fig. 6.

83. Neck of a phial of white glaſs. Pl. X. fig. 7.

The above figures from 46 to 83 were all drawn the ſize of the originals.

84. Fragment of a veſſel of greeniſh glaſs, height four inches three-fourths, diameter two inches three-fourths. Pl. X. fig. 8.

85. Handle of a veſſel, green glaſs, ſize of the figure. Pl. X. fig. 9.

86 A. 86 B. Bottom of a veſſel of yellowiſh-green glaſs, ſize of the figure.

87. Fragment of a veſſel of grey fine ware, ſize of the figure.

88 A. Fragment of coarſe light-brown ware, diameter including the rim, one foot, depth three inches three-fourths, on the rim is SOLLVS F. as expreſſed in a fac ſimile, fig. B. Pl. X. fig. 10.

89, 90, 91, 92, 93. Fac ſimiles of words on different fragments of the ſame kind of veſſels, as fig. 88. Pl. X. fig. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

94. Fragment of the ſame kind, on the rim the letters as in fig. 93. Pl. X. fig. 16.

95, 96, 97, 98 A. 98 B. Fragments of different kinds of channeled bricks found in Lombard-ſtreet between the houſes numbered 72 and 82, and in different parts of Birchin-lane. 98 A. is exhibited Pl. X. fig. 17.

99 A. 99 B. Braſs ring. Pl. VII. fig. 9.

100 A. 100 B. Bead of earthen ware. Pl. VII. fig. 10.

101. Braſs key. Pl. VII. fig. 11.

102. Braſs, ſuppoſed part of a ſitting figure, but melted or cruſhed. Pl. VII. fig. 12.

103. Fragment of a veſſel of coarſe grey-brown ware.

The above from 94 to 103 are all the ſize of the figures.

104. Fragment of a veſſel of coarſe brown ware; diameter one foot.

105. Handle, coarſe light-brown ware, length one foot.

106. Bottom of a large veſſel, coarſe red ware, the upper part of a lighter colour, length one foot ſix inches, breadth eleven inches and a half. Pl. VII. fig. 13.

107. Fragment of the ſame kind of veſſel, nine inches ſix-tenths in length, diameter five inches.

108. Stand of a veſſel, common brown ware; diameter three inches and a half, height two inches.

109. Fragment of a patera, coarſe light-red ware; diameter four inches two-tenths.

110. Fragment of a veſſel with a handle, coarſe cream-coloured ware, ſize of the figure.

111. Another fragment, very fine black ware; diameter two inches eight-tenths.

112. Another, cream-coloured ware, marked with red lines.

113. Another, fine brown ſprinkled with gold.

114. Another, coarſe brown ware. Pl. VII. fig. 14.

115. Handle, cream-coloured ware almoſt ſtrait.

116, 117. Handles of the ſame ware.

118. Fragment of the ſame ware.

The above from 112 to 118, are the ſize of the figures.

119. Round brick with a prominence on one ſide, and a cavity on the other two inches thick, diameter nine inches. Pl. VI. fig. 10.

120. Fragment with the appearance of a face, ſize of the figure.

121. Flue, red brick, length ſixteen inches and a half, breadth ſix inches and a half, depth five inches.

122. Another; length ten inches, breadth ſix inches ſix-tenths.

123. Tile bent; length eight inches.

124. Large veſſel of coarſe brown ware, entire when firſt diſcovered, but broken by the workmen; diameter of the bottom one foot, height about four feet, borders ſlightly ornamented.

125. Drain of hard ſtone, about two feet long.

130. Wall with two flues.

131. Archwork, found oppoſite N° 64 in Lombard-ſtreet.

The

The following Letters are on fragments of coral-coloured ware:

OFAVRRA	OFMO	LIVSC	ARGOF
OF·NIGR	OFMSCVI	OFMCCA	MARCIF
OF·FSAR	I·IENI	CRCH	RIVICA
F·ELCIO	OFMO	CEHA	RAVLVS
RVFNI	PP.PATERMI		
VI‖V	BRITAVV//II		

Coins found in Lombard-ſtreet and Birchin-lane.

Antoninus Pius. M. B. reverſe effaced.

Antoninus Pius. M. B. reverſe BRITANNIA, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Jackſon, much corroded.

Claudius. M. B.
Nerva. M. B. } in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Bland, banker.

Veſpaſian. M. B.

Diocletian. M. B. reverſe IVSTITIA.

Gallienus. B.

Conſtantinus,
Tetricus. } near 300 braſs were found in the ground, together.

Antonia Aug. M. B. reverſe TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. PM. TR. P. IMP. P. P. S. C. in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Barnet, banker.

Silver.

Alexander Severus, ſmall ſize IMP. SEV. ALE. . . . AVG. reverſe, VIRT. AVG. in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Jackſon.

Antoninus Pius, ſmall ſize, gold, reverſe IVSTITIA.

Gold.

Nero. Nero Cæſar Auguſtus, reverſe IVPPITER CVSTOS, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Jackſon.

Galba. in the poſſeſſion of John Henniker, Eſq. F. R. A. S. OB CIVES. SERVATOS. in a civic crown.

Many obliterated coins were found in different parts of the ſewer.

XV. *An*

XV. *Account of the Diſcoveries before mentioned, referred to in the preceding Paper. Communicated by* Charles Combe, *M.D. F.R. and A.S.S. from Mr.* John Jackſon *of* Clement's-Lane.

Read February 16, 1786.

IN making a common-ſewer along Lombard-ſtreet in the autumn of the year 1785 and the following winter, the labourers met with a great number of Roman antiquities, particularly teſſelated pavements and earthen ware. The firſt pavement that I have heard of was near Sherborn-lane, and was compoſed of bricks about an inch ſquare, and bedded in very firm mortar. Between this and the Poſt-office a wall was found perforated perpendicularly by two flues, one circular, the other ſquare. Oppoſite the Poſt-office was dug up a foundation (or floor) of common Roman bricks, each about eighteen inches by twelve in ſize.

At the Eaſt ſide of the houſe numbered 11, there was found another pavement, about ten feet deep, more or leſs, but more decayed than the firſt. It was chiefly compoſed of red bricks about an inch ſquare, with a few black ones, and white ſtones, but apparently forming no regular figures.

This pavement, as well as moſt of the reſt, was laid on three diſtinct beds of mortar. The loweſt very coarſe, about three inches thick at a medium and mixed with large pebbles; over this is fine mortar, very hard, and of a reddiſh colour, being mixed

mixed with powdered brick. This is about one inch thick, and on it the bricks are laid in a very fine white cement.

Oppoſite Abchurch-lane there appeared two walls of unhewn ſtone, their direction acroſs the ſtreet, at the diſtance of about eight or ten feet from each another; between them was much black wood, apparently burnt, and indeed many things dug up hereabouts diſcovered plain marks of conflagration.

In many parts of Lombard-ſtreet and Birchin-lane (which was afterwards opened) a very large quantity of oyſter-ſhells was found at the ſame depth as the pavements, &c. with a few muſcle-ſhells, both of the common Engliſh kinds. A little farther to the Eaſt the workmen ſaid they found another teſſelated pavement, ſo much decayed, that it entirely broke to pieces in taking up.

About this ſpot, and in many other places, large pieces of porous brick were met with, of a very looſe texture, ſeeming as if mixed with ſtraw before they were burnt. They are commonly channeled on the ſurface. Their ſize is quite uncertain, being mere fragments. Their thickneſs about one inch and half or two inches.

Farther on there appeared more pavement of the common ſort; but I am not certain whether it was a continuation of the laſt, or diſtinct from it.

Next to this, oppoſite to N° 20, was diſcovered another pavement, compoſed of pieces of black and white ſtone, each about one-third of an inch ſquare, probably diſpoſed in regular order; but none of this, I believe, was extracted entire.

At the Eaſt end of N° 20 were ſeen two chalk walls, croſſing the ſtreet at a few feet diſtance from each other.

Oppoſite N° 21, another chalk or ſtone wall projected from the South ſide of the ſtreet, and more of the coarſe channeled brick was found.

Between

Between the laſt mentioned houſe and N° 22, another pavement was met with of the common ſort, and by this there were fragments of plaiſter walls painted red with a black border.

Oppoſite to the end of Nicholas-lane there was a chalk wall, on the South ſide of the trench, cloſe to which, at about ſeven feet deep, a great number of coins were found looſe in the earth. They are very ſmall braſs, and of the rudeſt workmanſhip; the few that are legible appear to be of Tetricus.

At the ſouth-weſt corner of Birchin-lane, a wall of Roman bricks and ſtone projected from the north ſide of the trench. The ſide of this wall inclined to the ſouth weſt, forming an angle of about 20 deg. with the preſent courſe of the ſtreet. A little beyond this, another appeared on the ſouth ſide parallel to the former; the diſtance between them was not above three or four feet.

To the eaſt of Birchin-lane, another wall was found parallel to the laſt, but at a much greater diſtance being oppoſite to N° 26. Theſe remains of buildings were ſuch mere ruins, and the ſcene of obſervation ſo narrow, that probably very little information could be gathered from a more accurate deſcription.

When the workmen proceeded up Birchin-lane, they found more ruins of ſtone-walls, fragments of painted walls of plaiſter, and pavements, particularly a fine teſſelated pavement of very ſmall bricks and ſtones, nearly oppoſite N° 12. Of this only a corner appeared, which is compoſed of black, red, green, and white ſtones and brick, forming a beautiful border. It ſeems by the men's deſcription, that this pavement runs under the footway, and the houſes thereabouts, if not deſtroyed when they were built.

Both in Lombard-ſtreet and Birchin-lane there were found great quantities of Roman earthen ware, but chiefly fragments;

coins of gold, silver, and copper, of Claudius, Nero, Galba, and other emperors, down to Constantine, several handles, and fragments of glass urns, bottles, &c. Roman keys, horns, and bones of different animals, and in the upper part of the soil Nuremberg counters, coins of Queen Elizabeth, and other relics of modern times.

From the foregoing account it is plain, that when London was a Roman colony, the site of Lombard-street was a row of houses, but probably has been a street ever since the early Saxon times, as nothing appeared to indicate the contrary, no remains of Saxon antiquity having been found that could be ascertained for such.

I have handles of large jugs of pale coarse clay found here with the following letters stamped on them,

C. F. AI. CORI

A great number of pieces of round shallow vessels were found, made of coarse clay: they were, when entire, about one foot in diameter, and have broad rims turned downwards: each has a channel on one side, across the rim, to pour off the contents, and the insides of some of them are covered with small stones. They all appear to have been used for grinding some substance, for their insides have plainly been worn by trituration, and from the frequency of them, it is likely that they were kitchen utensils. I have specimens of them with the following inscriptions stamped on their rims.

AEB ----	SAYRA
TIƆƎꟻ (fecit)	NVS
F. LVGVDV	SECNDVSF
MAXI	SOLLVSF
P. P. B.	

I have

I have fragments of the fine red ware found here, with the following inſcriptions acroſs the middle of them, beſide ſeveral others, which, from the ignorance of the ſculptor, are illegible.

OF. SABINI.

NIGRINI

OFMONANI (Montani)

RHVSFE

ΛANDVILM

POTITIAN

O. PASE

CEREALISFC

---- SECWDI

IVLLINI·----

SECVN--

Or. CRES (perhaps Creſcentis)

CALE ----

---MbEII·M (Pompeii)

OF. MODESTI

WAΘJA (perhaps Albani, reverſed)

O SEVERI

NEQVREC

MARTIALIS.----

Pl. XI. fig. 1. exhibits a beautiful baſon of red earthen ware, of which fig. 2. is a ſection on a larger ſcale. Fig. 3. Another earthen veſſel or urn of a ſingular form.

Pl. XII. fig. 1. an urn. Fig. 2. fragment of a bowl.

All theſe are in my poſſeſſion.

Fig. 4. and 5. Pl. XI. a gold coin of Nero and a ſilver one of Alexander Severus in my poſſeſſion.

Fig. 3. Pl. XII. is a gold coin of Galba in the poſſeſſion of John Henniker, Eſq. F. R. A. S. This coin is beautiful in the excellence of its impreſſion, and more particularly curious from the circumſtances under which it was diſcovered, which were communicated in a letter from Sir John Henniker, to the following effect:

"A large trench has been excavated in Lombard-ſtreet for the firſt time ſince the memory of man, which is ſunk about ſixteen feet deep. The ſoil is almoſt uniformly divided into four ſtrata; the uppermoſt, thirteen feet ſix inches thick, of factitious earth; the ſecond, two feet thick, of brick, apparently the ruins of buildings; the third, three inches thick, of wood-aſhes, apparently the remains of a town built of wood, and deſtroyed by fire; the fourth, of Roman pavement, common and teſſelated. On this pavement the coin in queſtion was diſcovered, together with ſeveral other coins and many articles of pottery. Below the pavement the workmen find virgin-earth. From the particular ſituation of Lombard-ſtreet, elevated above the level of the marſhes, and happily placed to enjoy the advantages of the river, and from the appearances here ſpoken of, it is preſumed that it conſtituted part of the ſite of the antient Auguſta."

XVI. *Obſer-*

XVI. *Obſervations on a Picture by* Zuccaro *from Lord* Falkland's *Collection ſuppoſed to repreſent the Game of* Primero. *By the Hon.* Daines Barrington. *Inſcribed to the Rev. Mr.* Bowle.

Read May 5, 1785.

Inner Temple, May, 4, 1785.

I CONCEIVE that the following account of a picture, which was ſold laſt week at Greenwood's auction-room in Leiceſter Fields, may be intereſting to the Society.

It originally belonged to the great and good lord Falkland; from whom it deſcended to the late viſcount of that title, who died not long ſince.

According to tradition in the family it was painted by Zuccaro; and repreſented lord Burleigh playing at cards with three other perſons, who, from their dreſs, appear to be of diſtinction, each of them having two rings on the ſame fingers of both their hands.

The cards are marked as at preſent, and differ from thoſe of more modern times only by being narrower and longer; eight of theſe lye upon the table, with the blank ſide uppermoſt, whilſt four remain in each of their hands.

Other particulars deſerving notice are, that one of the players exhibits his cards, which are, to the beſt of my recollection, the knave of hearts, with the ace, 7 and [illegible] of clubs. There are alſo conſiderable heaps of gold and ſilver on the table, ſo that theſe dignified perſonages ſeem to have played for what would not at preſent be called a *chicken* ſtake.

It ſhould ſeem, that the game is a Spaniſh one, called *Primero*, which probably might have been introduced by Philip the Second, or ſome of his ſuite, whilſt he was in England, and was much in vogue during the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears by the following paſſage from Shakſpeare:

" ——— I left him at *Primero*
" With the duke of Suffolk."

Henry VIII. Act. V. Sc. 1.

I have taken ſome pains to find out how this formerly favourite game was played, and find the following account of it in Duchat's notes on the twenty-ſecond chapter of the firſt book of Rabelais, in which all the games, with which Gargantua amuſed himſelf, are mentioned, amounting to nearly two hundred, and the ſecond of which is *Primero*.

I ſhall ſubjoin a tranſlation of Duchat's note on this word, which ſeems moſt clearly to prove, that *Primero* is the game deſcribed in this picture of lord Falkland's.

" Each player hath four cards, which are dealt one by one; " a ſeven is the higheſt in point of number, [which he can " avail himſelf of,] and counts for twenty-one; the next is the " ſix, and counts for ſixteen; the next is the five, and counts " for fifteen; the ace reckons for the ſame number, but the " duce, trois, and quatre, count only for their reſpective num- " ber of points."

Duchat adds, that the knave of hearts moſt *commonly* is pitched upon for the *quinola*, which the player may make what card, and of what colour he pleaſes [*a*]; if the cards are all of different colours, the player wins *primero*, and if they are all of the *ſame* colour, he wins the fluſh [*b*].

[*a*] Hence the Spaniſh phraſe, " *eſtar de quinola*," which ſignifies the joining different colours. See the Dictionary of the Royal Academy at Madrid, voce, *Quinola*.

[*b*] The Spaniſh term is " flux," which ſignifies the ſame with our word *fluſh*, and which, when applied to cards, imports that they are all of the ſame colour, *x* in that language, moreover, hath the power of *ſh* or nearly ſo.

From

From this outline of Primero there ſeems to be little doubt but that it is the game which the painter means to deſcribe; and that the perſon exhibiting his cards to the ſpectators hath won the *flus*, flux, or fluſh; for his three clubs are the beſt cards for counting, and his knave of hearts may double the beſt of theſe, whilſt it alſo becomes a club, and thus wins by the number of points, as well as by the four cards becoming a fluſh of clubs.

Whilſt I have thus been endeavouring to explain this picture of Zuccaro, ſome other obſervations have occurred, with regard to cards in the more early centuries, which with the indulgence of the Society I may poſſibly lay before them hereafter.

DAINES BARRINGTON.

XVII. *Obſer-*

XVII. *Obſervations on the Antiquity of Card-playing in* England *by the Hon.* Daines Barrington. *Inſcribed to the Rev. Mr.* Bowle.

Read February 23, 1786.

SINCE the laſt paper which I had the honour to lay before the Society, giving ſome account of a picture repreſenting lord Burleigh with three others playing at cards [*a*], I have found ſome confirmation that thoſe exhibited in the hand of one of theſe players, relate to Primero [*b*], becauſe the Sydney Papers mention [*c*] that queen Elizabeth formed a party at this game with the Lord Treaſurer, Mr. Secretary, and the Lord North.

I am ſince informed likewiſe, that this picture was purchaſed by Mr. Bird of Hanover Square.

I proceed to give the beſt account I am able of the firſt introduction of this paſtime now become ſo general.

The earlieſt mention of cards that I have yet ſtumbled upon is in Mr. Anſtis's Hiſtory of the Garter [*d*], where he cites the following paſſage from the Wardrobe Rolls, in the ſixth year of Edward the Firſt.

[*a*] See the preceding article.

[*b*] This ancient game is ſometimes written *Primera*.

[*c*] Sydney Papers, vol. I. p. 154.

[*d*] Vol. II. p. 307.

"Waltero

"Waltero Sturton ad opus regis ad ludendum *ad quatuor reges* VIII s. V d." [*e*] from which entry Mr. Anſtis with ſome probability conjectures, that *playing cards* were not unknown at the latter end of the thirteenth century; and perhaps what I ſhall add may carry with it ſome ſmall confirmation of what he thus ſuppoſes.

Edward the Firſt (when prince of Wales) ſerved nearly five years in Syria, and therefore, whilſt military operations were ſuſpended, muſt naturally have wiſhed ſome ſedentary amuſements. Now the Aſiatics ſcarcely ever change their cuſtoms; and, as they play at cards (though in many reſpects different from ours [*f*],) it is not improbable that Edward might have been taught the game, *ad quatuor reges*, whilſt he continued ſo long in this part of the globe.

If however this article in the Wardrobe account is not allowed to allude to *playing cards*, the next writer who mentions the more early introduction of them is P. Meneſtrier [*g*], who, from ſuch another article in the privy purſe expences of the kings of France, ſays, that they were provided for Charles the Sixth by his limner, after that king was deprived of his ſenſes in 1392. The entry is the following, "Donné a Jacquemin "Gringonneur, Peintre, pour *trois jeux* de Cartes, a or et a di-"verſes couleurs, de pluſieurs deviſes, pour porter vers le dit "Seigneur Roi pour ſon abatement, cinquante ſix ſols Pariſis."

[*e*] This entry ſeems to have been communicated to Mr. Anſtis by ſome other perſon.

[*f*] "For their paſtimes within doors they have cards differing from ours in "the figures and number of ſuits." Pietro della Valle.

Niehbur (in his Travels) alſo mentions the uſe of Chineſe cards, p. 139, and ſays, that the Arabians call this amuſement *Lab-el-kamer*. We have cheſs likewiſe from the Aſiatics.

[*g*] Bibliotheque Inſtructive et Curieuſe.

I muſt own, that I have ſome doubts whether this entry really relates to *playing cards*, though it is admitted that *trois jeux de cartes* would now ſignify *three packs* of cards. The word *jeu* however had anciently a more extenſive import than at preſent, and Cotgrave in his Dictionary applies it to a *cheſt* of violins, *jeu* de violons. I therefore rather conceive that the *trois jeux de Cartes*, in this article, means three ſets of illuminations upon *paper*; *carte* originally ſignifying no more [*h*].

If this be the right interpretation of the terms, we ſee the reaſon why Gringoneur, limner to Charles VI., was employed, and theſe three ſets of illuminations would entertain the king during his inſanity by their variety, as three ſets of wooden prints would now amuſe a child better than one; whilſt on the other hand one pack of cards would have been ſufficient for a mad king, who probably would tear them in pieces upon the firſt run of bad luck.

How this ſame king moreover was to be taught or could play a game at cards whilſt he was out of his ſenſes is not very apparent, and the phyſician, who permitted ſuch amuſement to his majeſty, ſeems not to have conſidered the ill conſequence to his health by loſſes at play, which ſo much inflame the paſſions. Some ſtreſs likewiſe may be laid upon this entry not being followed by another [*i*] of money iſſued to the winners, as there ſeems to be little doubt, but that his majeſty in this ſtate of mind muſt have been, in modern terms, a *pigeon* to his *hawks* of courtiers.

Another obſervation to be made upon this entry is, that the year 1392 cannot be juſtly fixed upon as the date of this inven-

[*h*] Paper alſo in the fourteenth century was a modern invention.

[*i*] Our worthy member Mr. Orde hath lately favoured me with the peruſal of Henry the Seventh's private expences, by which it appears that money was iſſued at three ſeveral times for his loſſes at cards.

tion,

tion, for though Charles the Sixth loſt his ſenſes at that time, yet he lived thirty years afterward, ſo that it will not be fair to ſuppoſe theſe cards were made the firſt year of his phrenſy, but to take the middle year of theſe thirty which would bring it to 1407. At that time, indeed, this amuſement ſeems to have become more general, as in 1426 [*k*] no perſon was permitted to have in their houſe "tabliers, eſchiquiers, *quartes*," &c. which laſt word I conclude to be the ſame with *cartes* or *cards* [*l*].

It ſeems moreover to afford a ſtrong preſumption againſt Mr. Anſtis's explanation of the game *ad quatuor reges* (known to our Edward the Firſt), that cards are not alluded to by ſuch an article in the wardrobe rolls, becauſe we hear nothing about them, either in Rymer's Fœdera, or our ſtatute book, till towards the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII [*m*].

This ſort of amuſement, however, was not unknown to the court at leaſt of Henry VII. for in the year 1502, when the daughter of that king was married to James the Fourth of Scotland, ſhe played at cards ſoon after her arrival at Edinburgh [*n*].

Cards had alſo found their way into Spain about the ſame time; for Herrera mentions [*o*], that upon the conqueſt of Mexico (which happened in 1519), Montezuma took great pleaſure in ſeeing the Spaniards thus amuſing themſelves.

[*k*] Monſtrelet in anno—Meneſtrier is alſo quoted for a ſynod held at Langres, by which the clergy are forbid the uſe of cards ſo early as 1404.

[*l*] Ludus chartaceus *quartarum* ſeu chartarum. Junius in Etymologico.

[*m*] Whilſt I am correcting this page for the preſs, Mr. Nichols (printer to the Society) hath referred me to 4 Edw. IV. Rot. Parl. Membr. VI. where *pleyinge cardes* are enumerated amongſt ſeveral other articles, which are not to be imported. In 1540, Henry VIII. grants the office cuſtodis *ludorum* in Caleſiâ, amongſt which games *cards* are enumerated. Rymer in anno.

They are firſt forbid in Scotland by an act only of James the Sixth.

[*n*] Appendix to the third volume of Leland's Collectanea, p. 284.

[*o*] Dec. 2. c. 8.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that if the Spaniards were not the firſt inventors of cards (which at leaſt I conceive them to have been), we owe to them undoubtedly the game of *ombre* (with its imitations of quadrille, &c.), which obtained ſo long throughout Europe till the introduction of *whiſk* [*p*].

The very name of this game is Spaniſh, as *ombre* ſignifies a man; and when we now ſay *I am the omber*, the meaning is, that I am *the man* who defy the other players, and will win the ſtake. The terms for the principal cards are alſo Spaniſh, viz. Spadill, Manill, Baſto, Punto, Matadors, &c. [*q*].

Other proofs, of *playing cards* being a Spaniſh invention, ariſe from the figures upon them, a pack of which I beg leave to preſent to the Society, having with ſome difficulty procured them from a Spaniſh ſhip.

The four ſuits are named from what is chiefly repreſented upon them, viz. *ſpades*, from *eſpada*, a ſword; *hearts* are called *oros* [*r*], from a piece of money being on each card; *clubs*, *baſtos*, from a ſtick or club; and *diamonds*, *copas*, from the *cups* painted on them.

The Spaniſh *packs* conſiſt but of forty-eight, having no *ten*, which probably hath been added by the French, or perhaps Italians [*s*].

The

[*p*] This word indeed is moſt commonly written *whiſt*.

[*q*] To theſe I may add many others—as the being codill'd from *codillo*—The winning the *pool* from *polla*, which ſignifies the ſtake—The term *of trumps* from the Spaniſh *triumfo*—as alſo the term of the *ace*, which pervades moſt European languages, the Spaniſh word for this card being *as*.

[*r*] The Venetians ſtill uſe the Spaniſh cards, retaining the Spaniſh terms, except that of *oros*, which they render *denari*, ſignifying equally *pieces of money*.

[*s*] Our learned member (Dr. Douglas) hath been ſo obliging as to refer me to a miſcellaneous work of M. Du Four, entitled *Longueruana*; in which the writer ſays, he had ſeen ſome antient Italian cards ſeven or eight inches long, in

The king is a man crowned as in our cards; but the next in degree is a perſon on horſeback named *el caballo*, nor have they any *queen*. The third (or knave with us) is termed *ſoto* (or the footman), being inferior to the horſeman.

Another capital game on the cards *(picquet)* we ſeem to have adopted from Spain, as well as ombre, it having been thence introduced into France about 140 years ago. The French term of *piquet*, hath no ſignification but that of a *little axe*, and therefore is not taken from any thing which is remarkable in this game; whereas the Spaniſh name of *cientos* (or a *hundred)* alludes to the number of points, which win the ſtake [*t*].

Upon the whole, the Spaniards having given ſignificant terms to their cards, the figures of which they ſtill retain, as well as being the acknowledged introducers of *ombre*, ſeem to give them the beſt pretenſions of being the original inventors of this amuſement. If they had borrowed cards from the French, ſurely they would at the ſame time have adopted their names and

in which the pope was repreſented, and from thence (though a Frenchman) aſcribes the invention of cards to the Italians. This is, however, a mere *ipſe dixit*, without any other fact or argument.

Another of our learned members (Dr. Woide) refers me to a German publication by Mr. Breithoff, in which he cites an authority, that cards were uſed in Germany ſo early as A. D. 1300, having been brought from Arabia or India.

Our late worthy member (Mr. Tutet) hath alſo been ſo obliging as to ſhew me ſome antient cards which belonged to Dr. Stukeley, and which were nearly of an equal length to thoſe deſcribed by Mr. Du Four. The pack, however, was far from complete, and therefore little could be inferred from them. This was alſo the caſe with the pack of Italian cards mentioned by Mr. Du Four.

[*t*] See Du Chat's notes on that chapter of Rabelais, in which Pantagruel is ſaid to have played at ſo many games.

Saintfoix (in his Eſſays on the Antiquities of Paris) informs us, that a dance was performed on the French theatre in 1676, taken from the game of piquet.

figures, as well as their principal games from that nation [*u*], which on the contrary (in *ombre* and *piquet* at leaſt) have been introduced from Spain.

Nor do other reaſons ſeem wanting why the Spaniards ſhould have excelled in card-playing before the other nations of Europe.

I have already proved by a citation from Herrera, that in 1519 Montezuma was much entertained in ſeeing the Spaniſh ſoldiers play at cards when they were firſt in poſſeſſion of Mexico, which ſhews that this amuſement muſt have for ſome time previous been rather common in Old Spain [*x*]. Now Charles the Fifth ſucceeded to the crown of that kingdom in 1518, as well as to the new conqueſts and treaſures of the Weſtern India, whilſt his other moſt extenſive dominions made his monarchy nearly univerſal. France at the ſame time was at the loweſt ebb, their king having been taken priſoner at the battle of Pavia in 1524. It is not therefore extraordinary, that the country in which ſo great riches and ſuch extenſive territories were united, ſhould have produced the greateſt number of games and gameſters.

It ſhould ſeem that England hath no pretence to enter the liſts with Spain or France for the invention of cards, unleſs Edward the Firſt having played *ad quatuor reges* ſhould be ſo conſidered; and I have already ſuggeſted, that the finding nothing further relative to this paſtime till 1502 [*y*] affords a

[*u*] The old Spaniſh term for cards is *naipe*, which Covarruvias ſuſpects to be of Arabic origin: certainly it hath not the moſt diſtant affinity to the French *carte*.

[*x*] In 1584 a book was publiſhed at Salamanca, entituled *Remedio de Jugadores*.

[*y*] When James the Fourth played with his deſtined conſort at Edinburgh.

ſtrong

ſtrong preſumption that the *quatuor reges* were not playing cards [*z*].

During the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward the Sixth this amuſement ſeems not to have been very common in England, as ſcarcely any mention of it occurs either in Rymer's Fœdera or the ſtatute book [*a*]. It is not improbable, however, that Philip the Second, with his ſuite, coming from the court of Charles the Fifth, made the uſe of cards much more general than it had been, of which ſome preſumptive proofs are not wanting.

We name two of the ſuits *clubs* and *ſpades*, when neither of thoſe ſuits in the common cards anſwer at all ſuch appellation. If the Spaniſh cards, however, are examined (which I have the honour of preſenting to the Society), it will be found that each card hath a real *club* in the firſt of theſe ſuits, and a real ſword, *eſpada* (rendered by us *ſpade*), in the ſecond.

There ſeems to be little doubt, therefore, but that the cards uſed during the reign of Philip and Mary, and probably the more early part of queen Elizabeth, were Spaniſh [*b*], though they were afterwards changed for the French, being of a more ſimple figure, and more eaſily imported. It appears indeed by a proclamation of this queen, as alſo of her ſucceſſor [*c*], that we did not then make many cards in England, though the amuſement had become ſo general in the reign of king James, that the audience at the play-houſes uſed thus to divert themſelves before the play began [*d*].

[*z*] The figured cards, as king, queen, and knave, were ſometimes called *coat*, and not *court* cards as at preſent. The *knave* probably was the prince their ſon, as Chaucer twice applies the term *knave child* to the ſon of a ſovereign prince. The ſame may be obſerved with regard to *valet* in French. See De la Roynes nobleſſe, and Du Freſne, in voce *valettus*.

[*a*] See however ante, note (*l*).

[*b*] Philip alſo introduced the Spaniſh dreſs and muſic, at leaſt there is a ſonnet of Sir Philip Sydney's, which is to the air of "Se tu Senora no dueles de mi," and which therefore muſt have been a tune in vogue.

[*c*] See a Collection of Proclamations in the library of the Society, vol. III. p. 5. and vol. IV. p. 31.

[*d*] Mr. Malone's Supplemental Obſervations on Shakſpeare, p. 31.

But

But I have been furniſhed by our worthy and learned member (Mr. Aſtle) with a ſtill more deciſive proof that cards were originally made in Spain, which I ſend herewith for the inſpection of the Society.

It is an impreſſion from a block of wood, which was undoubtedly the cover of a pack of cards, and probably was made uſe of by a French card-maker.

The inſcription is the following:

" Cartas finnas faictes par Je (ſuppoſed contraction for Jean or John) Hauvola y (Edward Warman), the laſt name having been inſerted in a new piece of wood, laid into the original block.

The

The firſt words of this inſcription, viz. *cartas finnas (ſuperfine cards)* are Spaniſh, which are followed by two of French, (viz. *faictes par*, or *made by)* Jean Hauvola, *y (y* is generally uſed in Spaniſh for the conjunction *and)*, and the two laſt words, viz. *Edward Warman*, were not in the block of wood, when firſt cut into.

The whole of this inſcription, being rendered into Engliſh, runs thus:

"Superfine cards made by John Hauvola, and (Edward Warman), the laſt name being an addition in the room of John Hauvola's firſt partner.

Now I conceive that this advertiſement was uſed by a cardmaker reſident in France, who notified the wares he had to ſell in the Spaniſh terms of *cartas finnas*, or ſuperfine cards, becauſe thoſe which had been made in Spain at that time were in the greateſt vogue.

The two words which follow are French, *(faictes par*, or *made by)*, which were probably in that language, that the French reader might more readily underſtand the advertiſement, than if the whole was in Spaniſh. Thus a London ſhopkeeper would write on his ſhop in Engliſh that he ſold *vermicelli*, though he retains the Italian term of vermicelli (or *little worms)*, for the ware he wants to diſpoſe of.

But this is not the whole that may be inferred from this curious cover, for at each corner are the figures from which the four ſuits of cards are denominated in Spain, viz. *cups*, *ſwords*, *clubs*, and *pieces of money*, whilſt at the top are the arms of Caſtille and Leon.

It ſeems fairly therefore to be inferred from the ſuperſcription on this cover, that cards could not be then diſpoſed of to advantage in France, unleſs there was ſome appearance of their

having been originally brought from Spain, where being firſt invented they were probably made in greater perfection.

I begin to be ſenſible, that what I have thus ventured to lay before the Society on the firſt invention of cards is rather become of an unreaſonable length: from their wonted goodneſs to me, however, I will treſpaſs a little longer upon their time, by adding ſome few obſervations, which have occurred with regard to ſome of the games which formerly had obtained the greateſt vogue.

Primero [*d*] (undoubtedly a Spaniſh game) ſeems to have been chiefly played by our gentry till perhaps as late as the Reſtoration. Many other games however are mentioned in Dodſley's Collection of Old Plays, as "Gleek, Crimp, Mount-Saint, Noddy, Knave out of Doors, Saint Lodam, Poſt and Pair, Wide Ruff, and Game of Trumps."

To Primero the game of Ombre ſucceeded, and was probably introduced by Catharine of Portugal, the queen of Charles the Second, as Waller hath a poem,

"On a card torn at Ombre by the queen."

It likewiſe continued to be in vogue for ſome time in the preſent century, for it is Belinda's game in the *Rape of the Lock*, where every incident in the whole deal is ſo deſcribed, that when ombre is forgotten (and it is almoſt ſo already), it may be revived with poſterity from that moſt admirable poem [*e*].

I remember moreover to have ſeen three-cornered tables in houſes which had old furniture, and which were made purpoſely for this game, the number of players being only three.

[*d*] Falſtaff complains that he never had any luck ſince he forſwore *Primero*.

[*e*] As for the game at cheſs in Vida's Latin poems, I never could follow it, after line 220, when ſeveral pawns are taken on each ſide without being particulariſed. The Latin however cannot be too much admired of this elegant poem, nor the deſcription of many moves.

Quadrille

Quadrille (a ſpecies of ombre) obtained a vogue upon the diſuſe of the latter, which it maintained till Whiſk was introduced, which now prevails not only in England, but in moſt of the civilized parts of Europe.

If it may not be poſſibly ſuppoſed that *the game of trumps* (which I have before taken notice of, as alluded to in one of the old plays contained in Dodſley's Collection) is Whiſk, I rather conceive that the firſt mention of that game is to be found in Farquhar's Beaux Stratagem, which was written in the very beginning [*f*] of the preſent century. It was then played with what were called *ſwabbers* [*g*], which were poſſibly ſo termed, becauſe they, who had certain cards in their hand, were entitled to take up a ſhare of the ſtake, independent of the general event of the game [*h*]. The fortunate, therefore, clearing the board of this extraordinary ſtake, might be compared by ſeamen to the *ſwabbers* (or cleaners of the deck), in which ſenſe the term is ſtill uſed.

Be this as it may, *whiſk* ſeems never to have been played upon principles till about fifty years ago, when it was much ſtudied by a ſet of gentlemen who frequented the Crown coffee-houſe in Bedford-Row [*i*]: before that time it was chiefly confined to the ſervants' hall with *all-fours* and *put*.

Perhaps,

[*f*] In 1664, a book was publiſhed, entituled, *The Compleat Gameſter*, which takes no notice of *whiſk*, though it does of *ombre* and *piquet*.

[*g*] "The clergyman uſed to play at whiſk and *ſwabbers*." Swift.

[*h*] *Swabbers* therefore much reſemble the taking up part of the ſtake for the aces at quadrill, and are properly baniſhed from a game of ſo much ſkill as whiſk, becauſe they are apt to divert the player's attention.

[*i*] I have this information from a gentleman who is now eighty-ſix years of age. The firſt lord Folkſtone was another of this ſet.

Perhaps, as games are ſubject to revolutions, whiſk may be as much forgot in the next century as Primero is at preſent: in ſuch caſe, what I have thus laid before the Society may intereſt future antiquaries. If it ſhould, my trouble in compiling this diſſertation will be fully anſwered.

They laid down the following rules:

To play from the ſtrongeſt ſuit, to ſtudy your partner's hand as much as your own, never to force your partner unneceſſarily, and to attend to the ſcore.

XVIII. *Obſer-*

XVIII. *Obſervations on Card-playing. By the Rev. Mr.* Bowle. *In a Letter to the Hon.* Daines Barrington.

Read March 2, 1786.

Dear Sir,

As you did me the honour to impart to me your ſentiments on cards, I will take the liberty to mention to you what I formerly noted down, and have inveſtigated upon this matter.

The firſt authority for the general uſe of theſe, which I have diſcovered, is *B. Platina*, who died in 1481, in his book *De tuenda Valetudine*, printed at Baſil 1541, with Apicius in 4to. He has a ſection lib. i. De joco et ludo. His direction is—"Ludus fit, talis, teſſera, ſcacho, *chartis variis imaginibus pictis.*" I ſhould think it not eaſy to produce earlier authority for their uſe: and that Monſieur Bullet [*a*] may be relied on as to the time of their invention: ſc. in the reign of Charles the Fifth of France, who died in the year 1380, Sept. 16, aged forty-three. I do not find aught ſaid about them in Fauchet, nor Paſquier, from whence I infer they are not very antient. As far as I have ſearched, they are unnoticed in Chaucer, though he mentions other games:

They dancen and they play at ches and tables. C. T. 11212.

I entirely acquieſce in your idea of their being Spaniſh, for reaſons I ſhall produce, and it is not improbable that they might

[*a*] Ihre. v. Kort.

have been introduced among us at the time prince Arthur married Catherine of Aragon. Not only the terms in card-playing generally, but particular games are unqueſtionably ſuch. *Quadrilla*, or quadrille, in all its parts is ſo. So alſo is the once common, now diſuſed, *Primera*. This game, according to the Dictionary of Madrid, is played by dealing four cards to every one: the ſeven is worth 21 points, the ſix 18, the ace 16, the deuce 12, the trey 13, the four 14, the five 15, and the figure 10. The beſt chance, and which wins every thing, is the fluſh, which is fair cards of one ſort, after the fifty and five, which is compoſed preciſely of ſeven, ſix and ace of one ſuit, after the Quinola or Primera, which are four cards one of each ſort. If there are two which have a fluſh, he gains it who holds the largeſt; and the ſame happens with him that has the primera, but if there is nothing of this, he wins who has moſt points in two or three cards of one ſuit. We have here a copious account of it.

Notwithſtanding the proclamation made the eighteenth year of his reign, as mentioned by Hall, againſt all unlawful games, according to the ſtatutes made in this behalf (with which doubtleſs you are well acquainted) ſo that in all places, tables, dice, cardes, and boules, were taken and brent, Shakſpeare ſpeaks of Henry VIII's playing at *Primero* with the duke of Suffolk, Act V. It is probable he had ſome authority for the uſe of this game in his reign. That it continued in uſe in the time of queen Elizabeth is very certain. But it may not be amiſs to mention what the facetious Sir John Harrington noticed, "On the games that have been in requeſt at the court;" Epigrams, Ed. 1615, 4°. B. ii.

I heard one make a pretty obſervation
How games have in the court turn'd with the faſhion.
The firſt game was the beſt, when free from crime,
The courtly gameſters all were in their *Prime*.

The ſecond game was *Poſt*, untill with poſting
They paid ſo faſt, 'twas time to leave their boſting.
Then thirdly follow'd *heaving of the maw*,
A game without civility or law,
An odious play, and yet in court oft ſeene,
A ſawcy knave to trump both king and queen,
Then followed *Lodam*.—
Now *Noddy* follow'd next.
The laſt game now in uſe is *Bankerout*,
Which will be plaid at ſtill, I ſtand in doubt,
Untill *Lavolta* turne the wheele of time,
And make it come about againe to Prime.

Theſe Epigrams were afterwards enlarged into four books: the ninety-ninth of the third is The Story of *Marcus'* life at Primero.

Fond *Marcus* ever at *Primero* playes,
Long winter nights, and as long ſummer dayes:
And I heard once, to idle talk attending,
The ſtory of his times and coines miſ-pending.
At firſt, he thought himſelfe halfe way to Heaven,
If in his hand he had but got a ſev'n,
His fathers death ſet him ſo high on flote,
All reſts went up upon a ſev'n and coate.
But while he drawes for theſe gray coats and gownes,
The gameſters from his purſe drew all his crownes.
And he ne're ceaſt to venter all in prime
Till of his age quite was conſum'd the prime.
Then he more warily his reſt regards,
And ſets with certainties upon the cards,
On ſixe and thirtie, or on ſeven and nine.—
But ſeld with this he either gaines or ſaves;
For either *Fauſtus'* prime is with three knaves,

Or

Or *Marcus* never can encounter right,
Yet drew two aſes, and for further ſpight,
Had colour for it with a hopefull draught,
But not encounter'd it avail'd him naught.
Well, ſith encountring he ſo fair doth miſe,
He ſets not till he nine and fortie is.
And thinking now his reſt would ſure be doubled
He loſt it by the hand.—
At laſt both eldeſt hand and five and fifty,
He thinketh now or never (thrive unthrifty)
Now for the greateſt reſt he hath the puſh:
But *Craſſus* ſtopt a club, and ſo was fluſh.
And thus what with the ſtop, and with the packe,
Poor *Marcus* and his reſt goes ſtill to wracke.

What *Prime* was it is not very eaſy to ſay: it probably bore ſome reſemblance to Primero, as we may be allowed to judge from the Pair Royal of the three knaves mentioned above. Theſe paſſages will receive much elucidation by comparing them with the account afore given, and by a ſurvey of the ſeveral terms, which are unqueſtionably Spaniſh. *Poſt* is derived from *Apoſtar*, which means, to place in the hands of a third perſon a certain ſum of money, or an equivalent, for the winner. El *reſto*, or the reſt, is the money which the player has before him on the table. El *encuentre*, or encounter, means a pair, as two kings of the like. El *flux*, or the fluſh, varies only with us in the pronunciation. The diſuſe of the two laſt is accidental. It ſeems doubtful whether our firſt cards had the tens: the honours, as we term them, ſeem to have anſwered that number. As Sir John ſtiled them *coate* cards, we may preſume they were ſo called. In his Metamorphoſis of Ajax he has this paſſage: "When Brutus had diſcarded the kings and queens out "of the packe, and ſhewed himſelf a ſworn and avowed enemie

" to all the *coate* cardes, then crept in many new formes of go-
" vernment." H. Howarde in his " Defenſative againſt the poi-
ſon of ſuppoſed Propheſies, Lond. 1583," has this obſervation.
" The drifte is like a packe at Primero, where the ſmalleſt
" carde being cutte awrie, or comming between by chance,
" overthrowes the fortune of the fraudulent, and conveyes it to
" their adverſarie."

As we owe this game to Spain, we are indebted to the ſame quarter for another, yet ſometime uſed, and that is the *Veyntun*. *Cervantes* in his pleaſing Novel of Rinconete y Cortadillo, makes the former of theſe ſharpers acquaint his comrade that he had got his livelihood betwixt Madrid and Sevil by this game—*jugando a la veyntiuna*, and adviſes him to play with him with a view to take in ſome carrier, telling him that if ſuch an one ſhould deſire to make a third, he ſhould be the firſt to leave his money. From the ſame ſource we have the *Quinze* [*b*].

And now, Sir, begging your pardon for treſpaſſing ſo much on your time, I moſt heartily wiſh you the return of many years of health, and every gratification of your wiſhes, and remain

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN BOWLE.

[*b*] Anotaciones a Quixote. P. 2. 130. 28.

XVIII*. *Some obſervations on the Invention of Cards and their Introduction into* England. *By Mr.* Gough.

Read April 6, 1775.

DR. STUKELEY exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, Nov. 9, 1763, drawings of a compleat pack of cards copied from the paſteboard cover of an old book made up of ſeveral layers of cards. Theſe were purchaſed at the ſale of the Doctor's coins, May 15, 1766, by the late Mr. Tutet, a worthy and learned member of this Society, who bound them up in his neat and careful manner in two volumes, inſerting in the firſt leaf of the firſt volume the following account of them.

" The antient cards in this volume with others (duplicates) " and the drawings in the ſecond volume were purchaſed by " me out of the Collection of Dr. Stukeley. The drawings " were produced by the Doctor, November 9, 1763, to the So- " ciety of Antiquaries, obſerving that the cards had been given " him by Thomas Rawlinſon, Eſq. being two pieces of the co- " ver of an old book, ſuppoſed to be Claudian, printed before " 1500, and that there was a leaf or two of Eraſmus' Adages " paſted between the layers of the cards which being laid *ſtra-* " *tum ſuper ſtratam*, compoſed two paſteboards, and made the " cover of the book. The Doctor took the pains to ſeparate " the cards, out of which I have choſen a complete pack, and " the better to preſerve ſo ſingular a curioſity, have had it " bound together with the abovementioned drawings [*a*] and

[*a*] Which are exact copies of the original pack.

" ſome

" ſome French cards. It is obſervable in theſe antient cards " that there are no aces nor queens, but inſtead of the latter " are knights. On the Antiquity of playing cards ſee *Recher-* " *ches hiſtoriques ſur les cartes a jouer* by Bullet, who thinks " they were not invented before the latter end of the XIV " century; ſee alſo the *Idée generale d'une Collection complette* " *d'Eſtampes.* M. C. T."

Upon Mr. Tutet's death I purchaſed theſe two volumes at his ſale, and having ſo long ago as April 1775 communicated ſome obſervations on the ſubject to this Society, who were then pleaſed to order them to be inſerted in their Archaeologia, I withheld them till I could enlarge my obſervations with new lights, or till ſome abler hand had taken up the ſubject. It has been touched on, but not inveſtigated to that extent which it appears capable of, in three Memoirs preceding this; in one of which reference is made to Mr. Tutet's cards, and they are, I know not by what accident, repreſented as *far from complete, and therefore little could be inferred from them.* I have therefore been induced to reſume this ſubject, and to add to former remarks thoſe of foreign writers who have almoſt exhauſted it. And this muſt ſerve as an apology for ſo large a detail of their ideas.

The original cards Dr. Stukeley deemed much more antient than the French account of their invention and uſe among them. They conſiſted of four different ſuits as the modern ones do, but had neither ace nor queen. The king, *knight*, and knave made the court cards; on every duce was the card-maker's arms, two croſs mallets, with which he ſuppoſes they *ſtamped* the cards. Whereas the firſt French cards which were in Charles the Sixth's time were drawn and coloured by hand, and thence called *Tabellæ* or *Pagellæ pictæ.*

The ſuits were compoſed of *bells*, *hearts*, *leaves*, and *acorns.* Theſe the Doctor conceived repreſented the four ſeveral orders

of men among us. The bells are ſuch as were uſually tied to hawks, and denoted the Nobility, who generally rode with a hawk on their hand as a mark of their quality. In the tapeſtry of Bayeux Harold is twice repreſented thus, carrying a copy of Edward the Confeſſor's will to the Norman duke.

By hearts, he ſays, are denoted Eccleſiaſtics. In the room of theſe the Spaniſh cards have *copas* or chalices, as more ſymbolical of the order. The firſt hint of hearts ſeems to have been taken from ſome ſcriptural expreſſions; "a heart of unbelief "—with the heart man believeth, &c." Methinks this is full as ingenious as the derivation from *chœur*, becauſe prieſts are always in the choir.

The leaves allude to the Gentry, who poſſeſs lands, manors, woods, parks, &c.

The acorns ſignify the Peaſants, woodmen, forreſters, hunters, and farmers.

On the duce of acorns beſides the cardmakers arms is what the Doctor calls a white hart couchant. From this circumſtance he infers the boaſted antiquity of theſe cards; it being the known badge of our king Richard II. On the back of the curious picture of this prince at Wilton (one of the earlieſt paintings in oil-colours we are acquainted with), painted by Van Eyk, and afterwards engraved by Hollar, is the white hart couchant in the ſame attitude as on this card. Our cards are therefore ſo far from being an imitation of the French, that there ſeems reaſon to think the invention our own and of much older date.

The knave of acorns holds a croſs-bow wherewith they uſed to ſhoot deer."

Upon this paper of Dr. Stukeley I beg leave to make ſome obſervations.

The Doctor in ſuppoſing that cards made in the reign of Richard II. prove the "invention our own and of much older date"

date" than that in France, forgot that Charles VI. of France, and our Richard II. were contemporaries. So that allowing cards were abſolutely firſt invented in France to amuſe the French king after he had fallen into a melancholy habit (for his diſorder amounted to nothing more than incapacity for buſineſs and affairs of ſtate, not to miſchievous frenzy) which was not till about 1391 or 1392, the priority among us (if indeed ſuch priority exiſted) could not have been above twelve years: for Richard's reign began 1377 and ended 1399, and between the invention of cards in France and the depoſal of Richard, there was time enough to introduce this game into the court of a diſſipated luxurious young monarch, and even to improve upon the manner of making the cards.

Moſt unfortunately for his conjecture the beaſt on the duce of acorns appears more like an *unicorn* than a hart. I have however cauſed it to be here copied. But admitting it to be an hart, as it will be clearly made out that theſe cards are *Spaniſh* and not *Engliſh*, it muſt paſs for one of the *feræ naturæ* that haunt the woods of oaks.

Vol. VIII. p. 155.

Had

Had cards been introduced into England in the reign of Richard II. it is to be preſumed they would not have eſcaped the notice of Chaucer who lived to the end of that reign and the beginning of the next. Yet in his Franklin's Tale, l. 1212, ſpeaking of amuſements, he only ſays,

They dancen, and they play at ches and tables.

The uſe of cards among us as early as Edward I. has been inferred from a Computus 6 Edward I. in the Tower publiſhed by Mr. Anſtis in his Black Book of the Garter, p. 307, in which is entered a payment, "Waltero Sturton ad opus regis "ad ludendum *ad quatuor reges.*" This game Mr. Anſtis conjectures might be *cards*, wherein are *kings* of *four* ſuits. He thinks the game of ſome antiquity from the application of the word *knave* to a youth placed next the king and queen, and being as it were their ſon, in which ſenſe that term was uſed. So Chaucer [*b*] ſays the king of Northumberland begot a *knave* child; and this uſe of the word is frequent in his poems. In France alſo this card is called *Varlet*, a name given to the king's ſon. Thus Mr. Anſtis.

The writer of a paper preceding this is of opinion that Edward I. learnt this game in the Holy Land where he ſpent near five years. I am of opinion that Cruſaders had ſomething elſe to do in the Holy Land than to game. Edward had no money but what the king of France lent him. He received a dangerous wound from an aſſaſſin ſoon after he arrived there; his army daily diminiſhed by ſickneſs or battles without hope of reinforcement from any quarter, ſo that he was reduced to

[*b*] Man of Law's Tale 716. Merchant's Tale 818. Sompner's Tale 514. Wife of Bath 1190. Clerk of Oxenford 1474-6. Pardoner 2183. Nun's Prologue 1063. Spelman of Deeds, p. 243, &c. It ſhould therefore ſeem a miſtake in Bullet (p. 137.) when he imagines that the Engliſh and Germans borrowed the uſe of cards after the term *valet* came to ſignify in France a ſervant.

conclude

conclude a ten years truce with the Sultan, and return to England within two years from his leaving it [*c*].

Mr. Le Neve brought to the Society 1722 a minute of cards being made before 1 Edward IV. for then a perſon had his name from his anceſtor being a Cardmaker. Thus Hugh *Cardmaker* was prior of S^t^. John Baptiſt [*d*] at Brugenorth. (Rymer T. I. 1 Edw. IV. actor. MSS. N° 26. p. 100, et de officio pictoris regis conceſſo 13 Edw. IV. Id. I. II. N° 109, and de officio pictoris regis Johanni Serle conceſſo Id. I. 1 Hen. VII. N° 53. p. 109.) But not to mention that in the firſt of theſe inſtances the office of *cardmaker* might as probably mean maker of cards uſed in dreſſing flax or wool, and in the latter the *pictor* ſpoken of might be employed in higher offices about the court than painting or ſtamping cards, the dates aſſigned to both theſe do not come up to the antiquity aſſigned to card-playing in England in the record cited by Mr. Anſtis.

Among the monies iſſued from the Exchequer 1300, 28 Edward I. in the accompt of that year's expences and receipts, now printing by this Society, are theſe entries of money iſſued to his ſon Edward for his uſe in playing at different games. Among theſe cards are not ſpecified. What *creag'* was does not appear.

P. 157. "Johanni camerario domini Edwardi filii regis proden' per eundem lib' predicto domino ſuo per vices *ad ludendum ad diverſos ludos* per manus proprias ibidem 9 die Feb. 10 s."

To the ſame prince, March 10—"ad ludendum ad *creag'* et alios ludos per vices, 10 s."

[*c*] Rapin, III. 488, 489.

[*d*] Ralph le Strange who died in the time of Rich. I. (Dugd. Bar. I. 663.) founded at Bridgenorth, beyond the bridge, an hoſpital for a prior or maſter, and ſeveral lay brethren to the honour of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary and St. John Baptiſt. Tann. Mon. 451. Dugd. Mon. II. 433. Prynne calls him "magiſter hoſpitalis S. Joannis *Evangeliſtæ*" among his protections, 12 E. I. ibid.

P. 159. In March to the ſame prince—" ad ludendum per vices ad *aleas* et *talos*."

Edward II. was then entered into the 17th year of his age.

If *paper* was ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary for the compoſition of cards as ſome have ſuppoſed, I am afraid England would not furniſh any in the fourteenth century. For in the account of Edward the Firſt's expences before referred to we find among the ſtores given out for the uſe of Stirling Caſtle one dozen of parchment and one pound of ink (unam duodenam pergameni et 1 lb. atramenti), but no paper. There are alſo frequent charges of parchment for writing both deeds and letters on. The art of paper-making was not introduced into England before the reign of Henry VII.

If in order to prove the antiquity of cards we recur to the edicts prohibiting the uſe of them, we find the firſt record of this kind among the French to be dated January 22, 1397; an ordonance of the Prevot de Paris, forbiding the manufacturing part of the people from playing at tennis, bowls, dice, *cards* and *quilles* [*e*]. John I. king of Caſtille, in an edict dated ten years before (1387), forbad dice and cards in his dominions. The oldeſt prohibitions of them to the clergy are dated 1405, in the ſynod of Langres. St. Bernard preached againſt them. Succeeding prohibitions became more frequent, and may be found in Bullet's Recherches, p. 18—21. As a prohibition of them appears ſixty years earlier among the Spaniards, this may be eſteemed a powerful argument for their originating among that people.

If we may believe Monſ. Saintfoix [*f*], cards were invented in France under Charles V. predeceſſor of Charles VI.

[*e*] Bullet, p. 18.

[*f*] Eſſais ſur les rues de Paris, vol. I. p. 333. Bullet in his " Recherches hiſtoriques ſur les cartes a jouer" 1757, is of the ſame opinion: but it has been controverted in a more conciſe manner in the " Etrennes aux joueurs des Cartes" of the Abbé Rive, who attributes the invention to the Spaniards, and finds them prohibited in the ſtatutes of a new order called " The Order of the Band," inſtituted by Alphonſus XI. about 1332.

being mentioned in the famous Chronicle of Petit Jean de Saintrè, who was page to Charles V. [*g*]. M. Saintfoix gives the honour of the invention to a painter, named Jaquemin Gringonneur, who is mentioned in a computus of Charles the Sixth's treaſurer, as receiving fifty-ſix *ſols pariſis, pour trois jeux de cartes, d'or et a diverſes couleurs, de pluſieurs deviſes pour porter devers le dit ſeigneur roi pendant ſon ebatement.* But till it can be proved that Saintrè did not ſurvive his maſter Charles V. [*h*]. and deſcribe the manners that prevailed under his ſucceſſor, it muſt appear more probable, that cards were invented for the amuſement of a melancholy diſtracted prince, than for that of a patron of letters which is the character of Charles V.

If it be ſtill urged that cards were no more fit to amuſe a melancholy than a mad king, I am tempted to underſtand the *jeux de cartes a or et a divers couleurs de pluſeurs devices* of *paſteboard images*, painted and gilded ſomewhat like the pageants of later times, and to explain "*jeux*" *playthings* inſtead of *paſtimes* or *games.* Perhaps the term "*pour porter* vers le dit ſeigneur" and the *different devices* may be thought to favour this interpretation. They might have been like our leather or paper ſcreens painted with various figures, or like the pageants.

M. Bullet contends that cards could not have preceded the invention of paper made of rags, which is firſt mentioned as uſed for books by Peter the venerable in his Treatiſe againſt the Jews. "The books," ſays he, "which we read every day are

[*g*] When Charles V. advanced Saintrè from the place of page to that of carver (*ecuyer tranchant*) the eſquire who had the care of the pages, held him up to them for an example ſo contrary to their practice. "Et vous, ſays he, qui etes noyſeux, joueux de *cartes*, de des &c." Chronique &c. c. 15.

[*h*] The epitaph on him at the end of his Chronicle is dated 1458, and he is ſtyled in the firſt chapter a page to John king of France, at the age of thirteen, ſo that if he was page in the laſt year of John 1364 he would be one hundred and ſeven at his death.

made

made of the ſkins of ſheep, goats, or calves, or of eaſtern plants (meaning the *papyrus*) or *ex raſuris veterum pannorum.*" This we ſhould literally tranſlate *lint:* but it may be applied leſs ſtrictly to maſhed or pounded rags.

Maffei found no paper made of rags in Italy older than 1367. M. de Herouval had ſhewn ſome half a century older to Dom Mabillon, who in his Work "De Re Diplomatica" had met with none prior to the end of the 13th century. P. Montfaucon in a Memoire on the Papyrus (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſc. tom. ix. 327. 12°.) had never ſeen a book or ſingle leaf of paper of the modern materials that could claim an antiquity prior to the reign of St. Louis. M. Bullet expreſſes his ſurprize that none of theſe antiquaries ſhould have been acquainted with the MS. mentioned by Cardinal Beſſarion in a letter to Alexis Laſcaris after the council of Florence which was concluded in 1439, in which he mentions a MS. of S^{t}. Baſil, written three hundred years before that date on *paper.* The words are "*in papyro:*" but it may ſeem as extraordinary that M. Bullet ſhould take it for granted that this relates to paper made of rags, and not of the Egyptian plant. M. Bullet adds, that he himſelf had ſeen in a cabinet at Beſancon a deed written on paper ſo early as 1302.

That paper was known in France in the reigns of Charles V. VI. and VII. will appear from this circumſtance, that in the catalogue of their reſpective libraries the books written thereon are particularly ſpecified, which, ſays M. Bullet, is a certain proof of its ſcarcity. In anſwer to this it might be obſerved, that whoever looks into the beſt modern catalogues of MSS. will find the material on which the MS. is written particularly ſpecified, partly for diſtinction ſake, and partly to expreſs the age of the MS. But we will admit the argument drawn from this diſtinction in the preſent caſe, and proceed to examine thoſe which he employs againſt the invention of cards to amuſe Charles

Charles VI. in his madneſs: that they are deſcribed as only made for a particular purpoſe at that particular time, conſequently not then *firſt invented*; that the dreſs of the queens on theſe cards is very different from that of Charles VIth's queen Iſabel to which contemporary painters would have ſtrictly adhered; that Froiſſart and the Journal of Charles VI. make no mention of cards among the methods made uſe of for the king's recovery; and that they were forbidden in Spain five years before.

As to the firſt of theſe arguments, the words of the account carry with them no proof that theſe *trois jeux de cartes* were not then firſt invented, becauſe Gringonneur made them in a certain year or on a particular occaſion to amuſe the king.

2dly, Neither Froiſſart nor the Journaliſt mention any method of cure adopted by the king's phyſician or keeper but diet and exerciſe.

3dly, If not firſt invented, cards might have been firſt introduced on ſuch an occaſion in France.

Let us next ſee how Bullet ſupports his own opinion in favour of their earlier date, and fixing it to the fifteen years between the prohibition of long pointed ſhoes by Charles V. and his death, becauſe theſe ſhoes are not worn by the kings and knaves on the cards; the mantle faced with ermine which the kings wear is that which Charles V. always wore, and which was laid aſide by Charles VI. as the plumes of feathers in the hats of knights and others were introduced in his reign, conſequently do not appear on cards invented in the preceding. A game of ſo military a turn as that of cards would naturally ſuggeſt itſelf in time of war; ſuch was the cloſe of the reign of Charles V. a prince who loved ſciences and books, and ſhow, and in whoſe time theatrical exhibitions firſt ſprung

up in France. It was eaſy for cards to take their riſe in ſuch circumſtances.

He infers their French origin from the fleur-de-lis on the crowns and ſceptres of the kings, from the name of Charlemagne among the four kings, from the names of the knaves *Ogier*, *Lancelot*, *Hector*, *le Hire* [*i*]. A further proof of the time of their invention having been a time of war is drawn from the Heart repreſenting Courage; the *Pique* (ſpade) the offenſive weapon or pike, the Diamond the defenſive weapon or ſhield, and the *Trefoil* (club) the *plenty of forage*. The four colours repreſent the four *Quadrilles* or Companies formed in ſquare at the Carrouſels. The kings are four heroes of antiquity, David, Alexander, Cæſar, and Charlemagne. The queens or ladies of diſtinction are always introduced on theſe occaſions with the kings and knights.

There is no end to the etymologies offered for the names of the queens, *Rachel*, *Pallas*, *Judith*, and *Argine*. With P. Daniel Rachel is *Agnes Sorel*, Pallas *Joan d'Arc*, Judith, the conſort of Louis le Debonnaire of that name, or Iſabel of Charles VI. and Argina, an anagram for *Regina*, Mary of Anjou conſort of Charles VII. It might be aſked how theſe names came to be borrowed from princeſſes poſterior to the firſt invention of cards, or whether they ever had any older names; but this is departing too much from the ſubject. M. Bullet draws them all from the Breton, and explains *Judii* as it is ſpelt on the oldeſt cards *twice queen* (*Jud* queen, *Dye* twice), and Argine *the fair* (*Ar* the, and *Gin* fair), referring it to *Anne of Bretagne*

[*i*] M. Bullet affirms *Hector* is the Trojan prince, from whom the French claim deſcent. *Lancelot* is one of Arthur's heroes, *Ogier* one of Charlemagne's peers, and *de la Hire* the famous Stephen de Vignoles, ſurnamed *la Hire*, who contributed ſo much by his valour to eſtabliſh Charles VII. on the throne.

queen of France, and conſort of two kings, Charles VIII. and Louis XII. *Pallas* the Goddeſs of War, and *Rachel* of Beauty. In P. Daniel's eyes even the kings are emblematic, David of Charles VII. whoſe hiſtory affords a parallel with his.

The French cards appear to have had the ſame figures as our modern ones. The *Carreaux* or Diamonds; *Cœurs* or Hearts; *Treſles* or Clubs; and *Piques* or Spades. The firſt of theſe differ both in form and meaning from the *Bells* on Dr. Stukeley's cards. The author of a diſſertation on the Game of Piquet aſcribed to P. Daniel, and printed in the "Memoires pour l'hiſtoire des ſciences et des beaux arts 1720," proving that game to contain military and political inſtruction, ſuppoſes the *Carreaux* to repreſent arrow-heads uſually ſhot from croſs-bows, as the *Piques* do Lances; both alluding to magazines of arms.

The French cards in Mr. Tutet's ſecond volume are a few painted cards or honours [*k*] of the ſeveral ſuits ſufficient to ſhew the progreſſive alteration of modern cards to which they bear no reſemblance. The kings are named CEZAR, DAVID, ALEXANDRE, CHARLE. The queens, RACHEL, PALLAS, JVDIC, ARGINE. The knaves, HOGIER, ANGOULESME, LAHIRE, ----

Cards as well as other games had their origin in times of chivalry. The Kings, Queens, Knights, Knaves, all carry marks of that period. Cheſs has the ſame relation among the Aſiatics, as beautifully ſet forth in Vida's poem, in which an equal ſkill in language and play are united. To this allude *Trumps* or *Triumphs* in cards.

[*k*] What we now call Honours or *Court* cards are by Sir John Harrington ſtyled *Coate* cards. In his Metamorphoſis of Ajax he ſays "When Brutus had diſcarded the kings and queens out of the packe and ſhewed himſelf a ſworn avowed enemie to all the *Coate* cards, then crept in many new formes of government." I conceive the name originally implied no more than figures of men and women in particular dreſſes.

" The firſt cards were painted [*l*], and on that account very dear. They were ſoon after cut in wood and illuminated, which made them cheaper and more common. We have ſeen them ſo early as 1397 in the hands of the Pariſian workmen. They are perpetually mentioned in ſucceeding Romances. Villon in his burleſque piece " Grand Teſtament" leaves to Perrinet,

Trois detz plombez de bonne carre
Et ung beau joly jeu de cartes.

We read in Cretin,

Pour les ecots n'y montent: ſi font rage
Aux dez foncer et cartes lanſquenets [*m*].

In the Legend of Faifeu,

Ung jour advint qu'ils jouerent aux cartes.

In a *Sotiſe* or ſatirical repreſentation under Louis XII.

Allons, des cartes a foiſon,
Vin clerc, et toute gourmandiſe."

" They paſſed from France into Spain through Biſcay. The Spaniſh name for cards is *Naipes*, a Biſcayan word for *flat*, as *charta* ſignifies when applied to lead *charta plumbea* [*n*]. The Spaniards altered the figures and left out the queens. Such was their paſſion for this game that Paſchaſius Juſtus, who travelled over that kingdom in the 16th century, ſays he frequently went

[*l*] B. Platina, who died 1481, in his book " De tuenda Valetudine, Baſil. 1541," 4°, ſection " de joco et ludo," ſays, " ludus fit talis, teſſera, ſcacho, chartis variis imaginibus *pictis*."

[*m*] The game of Lanſquenet took its name from the Lanſquenets or light German troops employed by the kings of France in the 15th century. Bullet, p. 152.

[*n*] I rather apprehend this to mean a *ſheet* of lead, as we ſay a *ſheet* of paper: and that this name was given them from the material and ſubſtance; thoſe of the articles uſed in other games being very different.

many

many leagues without finding bread or wine, or any of the neceſſaries of life, but that there was no village or hamlet however mean and wretched wherein cards were not to be ſold [*o*]." This might ſerve as an argument againſt Mr. Bullet's poſitive aſſertion in the beginning of his eſſay, that Herodotus muſt be miſtaken in ſaying, that games of chance were invented by the Lydians in a time of ſevere famine, which they could not poſſibly relieve or amuſe. I am well aſſured that ſuch is the rage for gaming in China, that after a man's whole property is ſtaked and loſt, his perſon is ſurrendered as a laſt reſource to the winner.

" The Italians next adopted the uſe of cards, and the Spaniſh name for them calling them *Naibes*, which Bollandus and the new editors of Du Cange's Gloſſary miſtake for *dice-boxes* [*p*]."

Du Cange cites from the decrees of the council held at Worceſter 1240, a prohibition to the clergy, " *nec ludant ad aleas* " *vel taxillos*, nec *ſuſtineant ludos fieri* de Rege et Regina," by which laſt he underſtands *cards*. It follows " nec arietes levari, " nec palæſtras publicas fieri." M. Bullet, p. 138, explains it of ſome exerciſe, ſuch as running at the ring or the quintain. Without pretending to determine what it was, I cannot but apprehend it was not of the kind we are here treating of. Du Cange himſelf had his doubts of the uſe of cards ſo early, becauſe not among the games forbidden 1369 by Charles of France [*q*].

The curious in etymology may ſee in M. Bullet, p. 142—163, the names and forms of the ſeveral games of cards uſed in

[*o*] Tamen nunquam caſtellum aut vicum ullum adeo abjectum et obſcurum tranſire potui in quo non *cartulæ* veneunt. Bullet, p. 131—135.

[*p*] Bullet, p. 136.

[*q*] Du Cange et Charpentier voc. *Ludi de rege et regina*. It rather ſeems to refer to the king and queen of Twelfth-day derived from the Roman Saturnalia.

France. I wiſh I could furniſh as good a definition of thoſe among my countrymen.

I fear I have detained this Society already too long with extracts from other writers. But as this queſtion has received the greateſt light from Abbé Rive, I ſhall treſpaſs a little longer on their patience while I ſtate his arguments, and I do this the rather as his impartiality leads him to transfer the claim of the invention from his countrymen to Spain.

They were invented, he ſays, in that kingdom by one *Nicolao Pepin* [*r*], whoſe initials N. P. gave riſe to the name of *Naipes* [*s*], which the Italians corrupted into *Naibi* [*t*]. It is remarkable that Luigi Pulci in his Morgante Maggiore, l. VII. ſtanz. 67. underſtood it of cards in contradiſtinction to dice:

Gridava il Gigante,
Tu ſei qui, Re di *naibi* o di ſcacchi,
Col meo battaglio convien ch'io t'amacchi.

And ſo the biographer of St. Bernard diſtinguiſhes when he ſays that holy man by his preaching prevailed on the Sienneſe gameſters to burn "*naibes*, taxillos, teſſeras, et inſtrumenta "inſuper lignea [*u*] ſuper quæ avare irreligioſi ludi fiebant." (Acta Sanctor. Bolland. v. 281.) If therefore Morelli [*x*] treats *naibes* as a childiſh game, it only ſhews that they were not received in Italy with the ſame eagerneſs at their firſt appearance as two centuries afterwards, when they have no place in the

[*r*] Decuanara de la lengua Caſtellana. Madr. 1734. IV. 646. col. 1.

[*s*] Covarruvias derives *Naipa* from the Arabic.

[*t*] It occurs firſt in the Chronicle of John Morelli of the year 1393, printed at Florence 1728, and prior to the life of St Bernard of Sienna fifty years.

[*u*] Will theſe *inſtrumenta lignea* take in the *arietes* of the Worceſter canons? They ſeem to be the ſame with the *Equi lignei* forbidden by the laws of the emperor Juſtinian. Cod. de Aleatoribus. "Non licet ludere his qui vocantur *Equi lignei* vel quavis alia aleæ ſpecie." On this ſee Balſamon and Bullet, p. 11. n.

[*x*] In his Chronicle before referred to.

catalogue

catalogue of children's plays given by Bartholomeo Arnigio in his "Diece Veglie, &c. Treviſo, 1602," 4°.

But this game had ſcarcely been invented in Spain when it was cried down by the ſtatutes of an order of knighthood called *the order of the Band*, eſtabliſhed in that kingdom by Alphonſo XI. king of Caſtile about 1332, but long ſince extinct. Theſe ſtatutes are preſerved only in the Epiſtles of Dom. Ant. de Guevara, biſhop of Mondonedo, preacher and hiſtoriographer to the emperor Charles V. and not in all the editions or tranſlations of theſe, but firſt in the French tranſlation by Dr. Guttery, printed 1558 and 1573, and in two other intermediate editions.

It is true indeed that no mention of cards occurs in the original copies of theſe ſtatutes printed in Guevara's Epiſtles at Valladolid 1539, and Antwerp 1578, nor in the Italian tranſlation of the letters by Catzelu, Ven. 1558; but in the French tranſlation by Guttery 1558, 1573, and two other intermediate editions, it is inſerted.

The Spaniards ſubſtitute to *Hearts*, *Copas* or Chalices as emblems of eccleſiaſtics, to which it ſhould ſeem they referred the French figure. For *Piques* they have *Eſpadas* or Swords (whence our *Spades*) repreſenting the ſoldiery, which are Dr. Stukeley's *Acorns* repreſenting Peaſants. For Diamonds they have *Dineros*, a ſort of coin, like them emblematizing merchants and commerce. Theſe are Dr. Stukeley's *Hawk-bells* characterizing the Nobility. The Spaniſh *Baſtos* or Clubs repreſent Peaſants equally ſet forth by this figure and that of *Treſles* or leaves.

On the Spaniſh cards the Kings, Queens, and Knaves are ſtyled Kings, Queens, and Knaves of Copas, Spadas, Dineros, and Baſtos. The Kings are all mounted on horſeback, and the Knave of Copas is armed with a ſword and lance. The Ace of

Dineros contains the arms of Spain held by an eagle, and inſcribed with the King's name, as on mine *Carolus III. Rex Hiſpaniarum*; the Deuce has the arms of Caſtile and Leon and of Arragon.

The Suits in our common cards anſwer to the appellations of *Clubs* and *Spades* by an imitation of the Spaniſh ones, whoſe appellations we have tranſlated in one caſe and corrupted in the other; and though we do not retain the actual figure of a club or ſword on each card, we keep the figure of the pips which go by that name in Spaniſh.

The curious cover of a pack of cards exhibited p. 142, contains a motley inſcription of Spaniſh and French intermixed, and I conceive is to be read

Cartas finnas
faictes par
Jehan Volay.

The inſertion of *Edward Warman's* name in ſo very different a type is a proof that he was the vender of ſuch cards in a far later period. Upon inquiry I am informed by my friend Mr. Herbert, that a perſon of the name of Warman kept a ſtationer's ſhop, ſomewhere in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet or near Norton Falgate, about fifty years ago, and it is not improbable that he ſold theſe cards, and cauſed this inſertion to be made in the block. Mr. Herbert could not recollect his Chriſtian name. If I am not miſtaken this extraordinary block once belonged to Mr. Ames, who has however taken no notice of it or its ſubject in his Hiſtory of Printing.

But, leaving the arguments of theſe French antiquaries in favour of the French or Spaniſh origin of cards, let us return to the time when they actually appeared among us. From a record of the time of Edward IV. 1465, already produced, it is evident that they were in uſe in the middle of the 15th century,

tury, and the importation of them into England prohibited [*y*]. This is about fifty years after their probable invention, and we may allow a ſhorter ſpace for them to acquire faſhion and general uſe. In fifty years more they reſumed their empire.

If we ſuppoſe Shakſpeare at all adhered to coſtume and to the manners of the times, he would be guilty of a groſs anachroniſm in making Henry VIII. play at a game introduced by Philip or his ſuite into England in the reign of his daughter, at leaſt thirty years after the date of this ſpeech. In his 18th year a proclamation was iſſued againſt all unlawful games according to the ſtatutes made in their behalf, and commiſſions awarded into every ſhire for the execution of the ſame, ſo that in all places tables, dice, cards, and bowls, were taken and burnt [*z*]. Having been uſed ſo near home as Calais, where Henry VIII. in his thirty-ſecond year 1540, appointed an officer to regulate them among other games [*a*], they were eaſily brought over, if indeed they were not here before, as Shakſpeare correctly introduces them. But Mr. Barrington has ſhewn they were in England in the very beginning of this century; for Henry the Seventh's daughter Margaret played at *the cardes* with ſome other company [*b*]. Sir John Falſtaff is introduced in the Merry Wives of Windſor without regard to time merely as a bully.

[*y*] They were prohibited in France 1426, and to the clergy of that kingdom 1404. See before, p. 137. This was a ſecond prohibition; for we have ſeen a former thirty years earlier. See p. 158.

[*z*] Hall's Chronicle ſub anno.

[*a*] Rymer, Fœd. XIV. 707. The king ordains and conſtitutes Gilbert Clerc and Nicholas Dainporte keeper of the playes of *Hand oute* and *Keiles*, without the Lantern gate as at dyce, tables, and *cardes* on the market place of the ſaid town of Calais.

[*b*] Her intended huſband, as ſaid (p. 140) at Newbotle caſtle. Miſcell. Additions to Leland's Collect. III. 285.

John Fox [c] tells of a ſermon of biſhop Latimer's, preached at St. Edward's church, Cambridge, the Sunday before Chriſtmas 1527-8, "concerning his playing at cards," in which he dealt out an expoſition of the precepts of Chriſtianity. "Now ye have heard what is meant by this firſt card, and how you ought to play with it, I purpoſe again to deal unto you another card almoſt of the ſame ſute for they be of ſo nigh affinity that one cannot be well played without the other, &c." "It ſeems," ſays Fuller [d], "he ſuited his ſermon rather to the *time* than the *text*, which was the Baptiſt's queſtion to our Lord, *Who art thou*, John i. 19, taking thereby occaſion to conform his diſcourſe to the playing at cards, making the *heart triumph*. This blunt preaching was in thoſe dark days admirably effectual, which would be juſtly ridiculous in our age. I remember, adds Fuller, in my time a country miniſter preached at St. Mary's, from Rom. xii. 3. As God hath *dealt* to every man the meaſure of faith. In a fond imitation of Latimer's ſermon he proſecuted the metaphor of *dealing*, that men ſhould *play above board*, i. e. avoid all diſſembling, not *pocket cards*, but improve their gifts and graces, *follow ſuit*, &c. All which produced nothing but laughter in the audience."

That cards were common in the reign of James I. we have ſufficient proof in their being uſed by the ſpectators, while waiting for the play from Gull's Hornbook printed 1609, and from the *knaves of ſpades and hearts* ſerving as titles to a collection of original poems 1611, 1612.

Whether Primero was ſucceeded by a game called *Prime* mentioned by Sir John Harrington in his epigrams or what that game was is not eaſy to ſay. It is ſpoken of as not ſo pernicious to the purſes of the players as the game of *Poſt*, which

[c] III. 847.
[d] Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 103.

ſucceeded

ſucceeded it. This Mr. Bowle [*e*] derives from the Spaniſh *Apoſtar*, which means to place in the hands of a third perſon a certain ſum of money for an equivalent for the winner.

Perhaps it may be deemed too bold a conjecture that the "*Quartes* or Ludus *quartarum* ſive cartarum," by which Junius explains *cards* [*f*], may be derived from *quarta*, which Du Cange ſays is uſed ſimply for a fourth part of any thing, and ſo may be referred to the *quatuor reges:* but as Du Cange expreſly ſays, *quarta* and *carta* are ſynonymous, I lay no ſtreſs on this, but leave it to the critics. At the ſame time I cannot help preſuming that material of which cards were made which was *carta*, or paper gave name to the game.

Though I profeſs to lay no ſtreſs on the authority of Pietro della Valle, I have authority in my own poſſeſſion for ſaying that the Chineſe uſe cards marked and ſorted in ſuits like thoſe of Europe, not only from a Chineſe painting where their ladies are repreſented playing at a game with ſomething much thicker in ſubſtance [*g*] than cards, but ſhaped and numbered like them. One of theſe has on it *ſix ace*, another *ſix* as on the cards called *Domino* cards among us. But I have alſo a pack of Chineſe cards made of the ſame materials as European, and charged with various devices to no great or regular numbers. The whole pack conſiſts only of thirty cards, and of theſe nine have human faces, one whole length figures, and one two faces one under the other. The whole length figure has on it

[*e*] Letter to Mr. Barrington, p. 150.

[*f*] Etym. v. Cards.

[*g*] The ſubſtance is white. Quære, if thoſe cards are the *wooden cards* mentioned by Oſbeck, Voyage to China, II. 247. Le Comte, p. 299, ſpeaks of the Chineſe hazarding their eſtates, houſes, children, and wives on a *card*.

Had the learned Dr. Hyde completed his third part of the Eaſtern games, which was to have treated on card-playing, we ſhould have received the fulleſt information on this ſubject.

a red ſtamp with characters, and there are two ſuch ſtamps on one of the faces.

The Italians have a game called *la Menchiata*, invented at Sienna by Michael Angelo to teach children arithmetic. But it did not become generally faſhionable till the time of Innocent X. whoſe portrait is the *Pope* of theſe cards. The pack conſiſts of ninety-ſeven cards, fifty-ſix in the four ſuits, and forty ſingle or picture cards. Beſides the fourteen cards compoſing each of the four ſuits, they have twenty-two more figured or painted ones numbered, and ſubſcribed *Le Bateleur*, a man ſtanding at a bench with weights, &c. *La Papeſſe*, *L'Emperatris*, *L'Empreur*, *Le Pape*, *L'Amoreux*, [a wedding with a figure flying down.] *Le Chariot* [a king drawn by two horſes under a canopy.] *Juſtice* [a woman with wings and a ſword.] *L'Ermite*, *La Roue* de *Fortune* [a wheel like Ixion's with a man and a beaſt tied to it, and a crowned winged figure ſitting on the top.] *Force* [a woman tearing open a lion's mouth.] *Le Pendre* [a man hanging by one foot.] N° XIII is Death mowing down men. *Temperance* [a winged woman emptying one cup into another.] *Le Diable* [a winged ſceptred Devil on a pedeſtal to which are chained two others.] *La Maiſon Dieu* [a tower tumbling down, one man falling out of the windows, another aſleep in it; money ſhowering on both.] *Stoille* [a naked woman pouring water into a river, another urn by her and over her head ſeven ſtars.] *La Lune* [the moon with two dogs barking at her: below water with a kind of crab or lobſter, expreſſing perhaps her influence over the ſea.] *Le Solil* [the ſun, and below two naked men ſtanding by a wall.] *Le Jugement* [a woman, old man, and a third figure riſing out of the grave, an angel in the clouds blowing a trumpet, to which is affixed a red banner with a white croſs.] *Le Monde* [a naked woman in a kind of glory, at the corners of which are the ſymbols of the four Evangeliſts.]

Another

Another card without a number inſcribed *Le Fol*, having a man in a party-coloured jacket carrying a wallet on a ſtick, a ſtaff in his right hand, and a cat leaping up againſt his left leg, concluded the ſet which I ſaw, and which conſiſts of ſeventy-eight cards. *Antonio Vacheri* occurs as the maker's name on the Duce of Denies and of *Copas:* the ſuits being diſtinguiſhed by the ſame figures as the Spaniſh. The method of playing this game may be found in the Voyage d'un François en Italie 1765, 1766. Veniſe 1769, tom. V. p. 157. Theſe I ſuppoſe to be the Cards mentioned in the "Longueruana."

For the ſame innocent purpoſe of amuſing or inſtructing children, various ſubjects have been introduced on cards among us. Birds and beaſts, the conſtellations, virtues and vices, arithmetical queſtions, heraldic devices, &c. [*b*] to inſtill natural hiſtory, aſtronomy, morality, arithmetic, heraldry, &c. &c. in the moſt pleaſing and imperceptible manner. In all theſe the figures of the court cards are retained at whole or half length. But I have ſeen a pack with emblematic figures illuſtrated by ſentences, whereon theſe figures are expreſſed by their names, and the number of the pips by Roman numerals. The perſons on theſe cards are habited in the dreſs of the laſt century, and there is a mixture of groſs humour with ſound morality.

Mr. Meerman [*i*], who appears to have conſidered this ſubject very accurately, allows that cards were in uſe before 1367, but will by no means agree that they were formed from *engravings* of any kind, being then only regular pieces of *painted paper*. The *common* cards remain ſo: they are not painted at all, the red or black marks on them reſpectively being laid on with a bruſh. The outlines of the *court* cards are formed from *wooden*

[*b*] Joſeph Banks, Eſq. ſhewed the Society 1723-4, an old pack of cards with the hiſtory of the Spaniſh Invaſion. (Min.)

[*i*] Orig. Typog. c. ix. p. 223. See alſo the Poſtſcript to the ſecond edition of the Origin of Printing, 1776, by Bowyer and Nichols, p. 177.

ſtamps, by an operation different from that of the printing preſs, and they are afterwards coloured.

Mr. Meerman founds his opinion on the paſſage before quoted of the payment to Gringonneur the painter, and obſerves, that, had the art of ſtamping cards been known in the 14th century, the French in particular would have applied it to other figures, and even whole books; for as ſoon as that art was invented it was applied to cards.

The author of the "Idée generale d'une collection des eſtampes" [*k*] traces the origin of cutting in wood to 1423, to the artiſts employed in making playing cards, who proceeded from little pictures of ſaints at the head of legends of the ſize of the old playing cards, and illuminated in the ſame manner, to ſmall pieces of hiſtory for the inſtruction of youth, and for the purpoſes of devotion.

He finds a concurrent opinion among authors on this ſubject, that the invention of cards is due to the *Germans*. In the language of this people the hearts are called *red*, the diamonds *bells*, the clubs *acorns*, and the ſpades *green*, and among their court cards were no *ladies*, who are all of French invention. But this writer brings not a ſingle proof of the prior antiquity of cards to that already aſſigned. Not one of his German authorities is dated earlier than the 15th century. The moulds ſtill uſed in Germany are like wood cuts, and very different from the French [*l*]. Before the invention of printing we find the term *ſtampide* applied by the Venetians to cards [*m*].

[*k*] P. 237—249.

[*l*] See the Art of Card-making by Hamel du Monceau in the deſcription of arts and trades of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris.

[*m*] Carte e figure ſtampide *che ſi fanno in Venezia*, and *le carte de zugar e figure* dipinte ſtampide *fatte fuor di Venezia*. Petition of the Card-makers to the Senate of Venice 1441. Lettere Pittoriche, v. 321.

XIX. *Obſervations on our antient Churches. By the Rev. Mr.* Ledwich, *F.A.S. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr.* Norris, *Secretary.*

Read March 23, 1786.

THERE is great reaſon to apologize for offering obſervations on our eccleſiaſtical architecture, which has already been ſo ably diſcuſſed by many eminent members of this Society. But as a minuter attention to it, than was conſiſtent with their more general plans, has ſuggeſted ideas different from thoſe advanced, and preſented new views of the ſubject, I am emboldened, through your obliging intervention, to ſubmit them to the candour and judgement of this learned and reſpectable body.

The ſculptural decorations of our antient churches, and the various ſhapes of our arches, to which I ſhall principally confine myſelf, have been but ſlightly touched on by thoſe who have written on our religious ſtructures: but ſeriouſly to inveſtigate their origin, though a very intereſting deſideratum, no attempt has hitherto been made. The following pages may, perhaps, ſupply ſome hints on this head, and merit ſome notice, untill future diſcoveries ſubſtitute ſomething more ſolid and ſatisfactory.

The eaſy intercourſe eſtabliſhed through every part of the Roman empire introduced the knowledge of Chriſtianity and its teachers at an early period into Britain. The Goſpel ſeems to

have made conſiderable progreſs among the natives, who were repreſented by three biſhops in the council of Arles, A. D. 314. The Roman ſoldiery, a very numerous body, were not ſo ready to embrace the faith: there are no monuments of their belief in Chriſt, but many of their attachment to the deities of Rome. The pompous account given by Tacitus of his father-in-law Agricola, and of his endeavours to poliſh the Britons by encouraging them to build houſes, temples, and *fora*, are rather the fond effuſions of affection than matters of fact; not a trace of ſuch edifices exiſting [*a*], or of the columns that adorned them. So that a celebrated [*b*] hiſtorian ſeems to have good grounds for aſſerting, that the moſt the Romans communicated to us was a thin varniſh of Italian manners. The architecture therefore of the Britons ſeems to have been of the ſimpleſt wooden materials; and this Bede, Uſher, and Spelman, teſtify. It is in vain then to look for thoſe ſculptural ornaments, which more peculiarly belong to ſtone edifices.

When the Anglo-Saxons arrived in England, they adored Odin, Thor, and the other northern gods. Thoſe deities under whoſe guidance and protection they had been victorious, they would not eaſily relinquiſh. For two hundred years they continued Pagans. That they built temples, which were after converted to Chriſtian churches, has been aſſerted by learned men. The paſſages in Bede and other writers, which ſeem to countenance this opinion, will be found, on a critical examination, to come very ſhort of the neceſſary evidence, without a large portion of ingenuity and conjecture. But as there is no heathen Saxon temple extant or on record, whoſe architecture and ornaments are accurately deſcribed, there is no need of entering minutely on this ſubject. If we believe the united teſti-

[*a*] As is remarked by Mr. Eſſex; Archaeologia, vol. IV. p. 79.
[*b*] Mr. Gibbon's Roman Hiſtory, chap. 38.

mony

mony of our hiſtorians, the Saxons pointed their utmoſt vengeance againſt Chriſtianity, and its ſacred ſtructures. In their own country, they worſhiped their gods in ſtone-circles, or amid the gloom of ponderous trilithons; and there are abundant proofs of their doing the ſame here. Antecedent to the coming of Auguſtine in 597, the Welſh and Iriſh clergy converted many of the Saxon race; but the native buildings of theſe miſſionaries were as mean as the Britiſh.

A very judicious and well-informed member of this Society, Mr. Eſſex, ſays, on the authority of Bede, that the Saxons, at the time of their converſion, did not underſtand maſonry, as they were obliged to ſend for foreigners to build churches and monaſteries after the Roman manner. Let their ignorance of maſonry be what it may, it is not proved by the circumſtance adduced. The paſſage alluded to in Bede, and others to the ſame purpoſe, have been miſunderſtood.

The Britons, beſides their wattled and wooden churches, had latterly ſome poor ſtone-fabrics, like thoſe of St. Martin and St. Pancras at Canterbury: but they were not conſtructed in the ſtyle of thoſe churches that acknowledged the doctrines and ſovereignty of the Roman Pontiff. They had no crypts under them for reliques: they were not ſupported by arches and columns: theſe arches and columns were not adorned with the images of ſaints and legendary ſtories: their ſhape was not cruciform: they had no oratories in the ailes, nor were they glazed. This was the Roman ſtyle, as preciſely delineated by Bede [*c*], Eddius, and Richard, Prior of Hexham, and contradiſtinguiſhed from the Britiſh.

From the arrival of the papal miſſionaries in the iſland it was faſhionable to exalt every thing Roman, and decry what was

[*c*] Bed. Hiſt. Abb. Wirem. pag. 295. & alibi. Edd. apud XV Scriptor. pag. 62. Ric. Prior. Hagulſt. pag. 290, 291.

native. The Britons with great firmneſs preſerved their hierarchy and faith, and reſolutely withſtood the adoption of maſſes, ſtations, litanies, ſinging, reliques, pilgrimages, and numberleſs other ſuperſtitions and innovations of popery. The Anglo-Saxon church, founded by a Roman [*d*], and devoted to that ſee, could not give a more convincing proof of her ſincerity than by embracing thoſe favourite ceremonies, and with them that mode of building with which they were intimately connected. Accordingly, thoſe, who were moſt active in forwarding this ſtyle, had either their education at Rome, or were remarkably attached to that capital. Thus Ninian, who erected the ſtone church at Whithern, was regularly inſtructed at Rome in her myſteries and tenets [*e*]. Biſcop, founder of the church of Weremouth after the Roman manner, was urged to the undertaking from his love to the bleſſed Apoſtle, St. Peter [*f*]; and Naiton, ſeduced from his hereditary religion by the abbat Ceolfrid, ſolicits this abbat to ſend him architects to conſtruct a church after the Roman faſhion [*g*]: not to mention Wilfrid who erected the church of Hexham, and others recorded by Bede.

This elucidation clearly points out the difference between the Britiſh and Roman architecture in the 7th century, and ſhews what the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian more particularly means by the Roman manner. 'Tis to foreigners we are indebted for the rudiments of this elegant art, and for thoſe ſculptures, which ſo

[*d*] It is probable he was a Roman, as he was taken from the monaſtery of St. Andrew at Rome. Creſſy's Church Hiſtory.

[*e*] Qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et myſteria veritatis edoctus. Bed. l. iii. c. 4.

[*f*] Eccleſiam juxta Romanorum, quem ſemper amabat morem. Et tantum in operando ſtudii præ amore Beati Petri. Bed. Hiſt. Abb. Wirem. p. 295.

[*g*] Bed. l. v. c. 21.

profuſely adorn our capitals and arches. It is equally certain, that what are called the Saxon ornaments and the Saxon ſtyle have not the moſt diſtant relation to that people, as inventors, but as they were uſed in ages wherein their conqueſts and power were very conſpicuous.

The Roman ſtyle, which includes, as is apparent from the preceding account of it, every characteriſtic trait of the Saxon, was the mode of eccleſiaſtical architecture prevalent in the 7th century. The ſame ſtyle we may reaſonably ſuppoſe exiſted in the church of Tours, built A. D. 460 [*b*]. One hundred and twenty columns therein were not without carving; nor walls one hundred and fifty feet in length without mouldings or ornaments. Of what ſort theſe ornaments were the writer does not inform us. Eddius mentions, in general terms, that the capitals of the columns and the arch of the chancel of the Hexham fabric were decorated "hiſtoriis—imaginibus—et variis cælaturarum figuris." The firſt probably mean hiſtorical repreſentations from the bible and legends: the ſecond ſaints and holy men, and the laſt a variety of ſculptures in relief. Theſe works were executed by artiſts brought from Rome, Italy and France [*i*]: what reaſon then can there be for calling them Saxon? Many learned antiquaries have lately relinquiſhed this appellation, and call them Roman; but they have not explained what they underſtand by a Roman work. It is not enough that the arch is ſemicircular, and the form and proportion of the column regular; the feuilliage ſhould be alſo Roman to intitle it to this diſtinction. The former by chance may be right, but the latter is not leſs characteriſtic. Where do

[*b*] Gregor. Turon. Hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 14.

[*i*] De Roma quoque, et Italia et Francia, et de aliis terris ubicunque invenire poterat, cæmentarios, &c. ſecum retinuerat. Ric. Hagulſt. l. i. c. 5.

we ſee the Ovolo, Talon, Cyma, Torus, and other regular architectonic mouldings and ornaments in Saxon works? Or where an intire order of the column? For except the ſhaft, the other parts are omitted or indiſtinctly marked. The Saxon may poſſibly be a corruption of the Roman ſtyle, but there are ſtrong inducements to think it had a very different origin.

In the Medico-Laurentian library at Florence is a Syriac MS. of the Evangeliſts, written A. D. 586 [*k*], full of pictures and miniatures, exhibited in twenty-ſix leaves. The ſecond ſhews the Virgin Mary with Jeſus in her arms, under a ciborium ſupported by four pillars, which are dreſſed with chevrons, lozenges, and eggs [*l*]. The other plates give every characteriſtic ornament of the Saxon ſtyle; as nebules, lozenges, quatrefoils, chevrons, flowers, fruit, birds, and a rich variety of ſculpture. So early an inſtance as to date, ſo authentic and in point, has not, I believe, been produced: what has been obſerved of the church of Tours, and that of Hexham, being rather probable conjecture. Here we have a curious and inconteſtible fact full in view: the only difficulty is the accounting for ſo ſingular an appearance.

That we ſhould diſcover the Saxon ornaments (for I muſt uſe the term to be intelligible) in the Eaſt, is a phænomenon little to be expected. Let us conſider, that the Tabernacle, made by the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſs, was to repreſent at once an oriental temple and palace [*m*]. As deſcribed in Exodus, it was a great pavilion or tent, and in it was the Ark. The latter was concealed from ſight by a veil ſuſpended from four pillars of precious wood: their capitals and baſes of precious metals, and

[*k*] Codex Evangeliorum antiquiſſimus, &c. Biblioth. Med. Laur. tom. i. pag. 44.

[*l*] See plate XIII.

[*m*] Goguet ſur l'origine des loix. Tom. ii. p. 251, 252.

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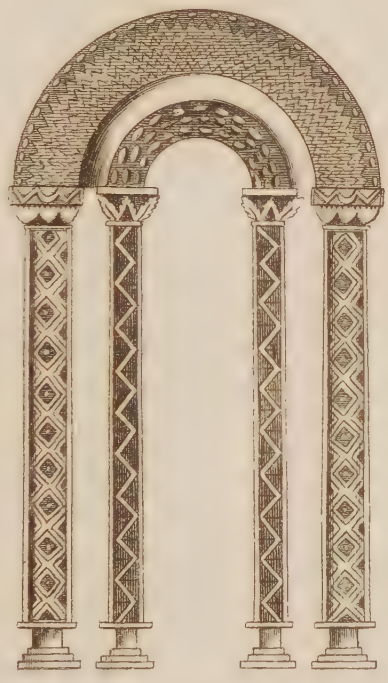

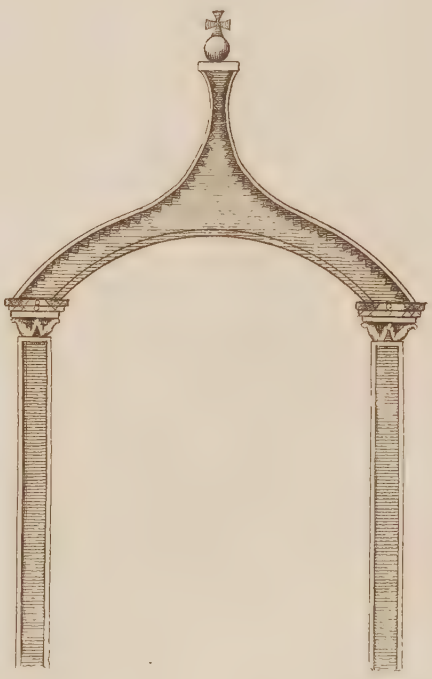

Arches from a Syriac M.S. of the Gospels at Florence.

the ſhafts overlaid with the ſame. Within this the deity was ſuppoſed to reſide.

Chriſtians, in the early ages of the church, imitated many ceremonies and practices of the Jews; and, among others, they formed ſmall portable tabernacles, conſtructed on the model of the firſt. Sozomen [*m*] tells us, that Conſtantine, about the beginning of the 4th century, carried with him in his campaigns a tabernacle in the ſhape of a church, that neither he nor his army might, in the wilderneſs, be without a temple for holy uſes. I ſay, Conſtantine and the Chriſtians might have adopted this idea from the Jews: but it fell in alſo very exactly with the Pagan uſages, and might have been retained not to ſcandalize new converts. The carrying gods in portable temples was common among the Egyptians [*n*], Cappadocians, Greeks, and Romans; and ſuch were the ſilver ſhrines ſpoken of by St. Luke in the Acts. Scripture and Sozomen call theſe tabernacles, *Scenæ*; but Chryſoſtom, who was contemporary with Sozomen, *Ciboria*. In his 42d homily on the Acts, he aſks in what form they made thoſe ſilver ſhrines, and anſwers, they were perhaps like the ſmall Ciboria [*o*].

The Ciborium [*p*] was the ſhell containing the ſeeds of the Colocaſia or Egyptian bean: its ſurface was flat and hemiſpherical, from which to the bottom it declined into a cone: it was uſed as a drinking cup [*q*], and reſembled our chalices or goblets. This inverted and ſuſpended by its footſtalk was ſimilar

[*m*] Και σκηνην ας εκκλησιαν εικασμενην. L. i. c. 8.

[*n*] Διος ξοανον. Euſtath. in Iliad. 1. Strab. l. 4., Athenæi Deip. l. 11. & Caſaubon. in loco. Dio. l. 40. Val. Max. Herodian. Lactant. &c.

[*o*] Ισως ως Κιβωρια μικρα.

[*p*] Salmaſ. Plin. Exerc. p. 1310, who ſhews Rhodiginus is much miſtaken in the account of the Ciborium.

[*q*] Poculi vicem et uſum præbebat. Salmaſ. ubi ſupra

to the canopy that covered thoſe ſhrines; and in the beginning of the 5th century, as appears from Chryſoſtom, was thus underſtood, and at length expreſſed the pillars, curtains, canopy, and the whole ſhrine or tabernacle [*r*].

Before Chriſtianity was fully eſtabliſhed, and for ſome ages after, the practice of making Ciboria to ſerve as domeſtic chapels, from the example of Conſtantine and the general tincture of Paganiſm ſtill remaining, muſt have been univerſal. We have traced it through the 4th, 5th, and the Syriac MS. evinces what it was in the 6th century. In the fury of religious zeal, Conſtantine demoliſhed the monuments of antient architecture and ſculpture. The porches of the temples, ſays Euſebius [*s*], were laid open; their doors taken down and their roofs torn off. In one place Apollo Pythius lay expoſed to view; in another Sminthius; in the circus the Delphic tripods; and in the palace the Heliconian muſes. A new ſtyle of building and ornament commenced. It was a corrupt imitation of Eaſtern [*t*], Grecian, and Roman models. The firſt experiments ſeem to have been made on tabernacles and ciboria. Catching the flame of religion from their prince, and to complete their triumph over idolatry, Chriſtians would naturally reject thoſe ornaments that decorated heathen temples, and employ whatever they could collect of the Jewiſh and Eaſtern feuillage. The Syriac MS. preſents us with pillars, ſpiral, fluted, and covered with a lozenge net-work; different frettes; chevrons; chalices; flowers and angels' heads; ornaments certainly prior to the date of that work. They were after transferred to ſtone-buildings, and ſeem to be the true origin of thoſe called Saxon.

[*r*] Li Pitture d'Ercolano, tom. ii. p. 211.

[*s*] Vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 8.

[*t*] Wren has well obſerved in his Parentalia, that Orders were Hebræan, Phœnician, &c. The account of the Jewiſh tabernacle is a proof.

The

The veneration in which the ciborium was held, and the myſtic virtue of its figure [*u*], were boundleſs. The Virgin Mary, Jeſus, and the Apoſtles and holy men, are repreſented within thoſe of the Syriac MS. but theſe were ſoon ſupplanted by the reliques of Saints and the euchariſtic elements. Ciampini [*w*] tells us, the Lateran Ciborium is made of Parian marble, ſupported by four columns of Egyptian marble with gilt epiſtyles of the Corinthian order. Within a gilt iron grating in this are preſerved, with ſingular veneration, the heads of the Apoſtles Peter and Paul.

We may eaſily imagine what ſuperſtitious reſpect was paid to the minuteſt part of the Ciborium from a declaration of St. Jerome in the 4th century, who pronounces in the moſt deciſive manner [*x*], that the ſacred chalices, the holy vails, and whatever elſe belonged to our Lord's paſſion, were not to be eſteemed as common or unmeaning things, but from their connection with the body and blood of Chriſt were intitled to the ſame implicit and ſovereign reſpect as the very body and blood itſelf. Hence the utmoſt profuſion was not thought too great for adorning theſe Ciboria. Pope Leo III. according to Anaſtaſius, made ſome of ſilver, covered with gold: the four pillars were of great height, of porphyry and white marble, finely carved and enriched with innumerable green and purple gems. The inverted Ciborium [*y*] was the crowning of the Greek churches,

[*u*] Deſcribit prolixe Ciborium Germanus, et dictis propheticis ita conquadrare opinatur, ut ſine illo, quo modo Deus operetur per altaris ſacraficium ſalutem hominum in medio terræ, non probe intelligi affirmet. Goar. Euchologi. p. 15.

[*w*] Ciborium ex Pario marmore quatuor columnis, &c. De ſac. ædific. p. 15.

[*x*] Epiſt. 88. ad Theophil.

[*y*] Και ο κονοειδης. Phot. Οια τε κονε. Silentiar. Deſcrip. æd. Soph.

called

called Cupolas, and the covering of their graves [z]. Gregory of Tours, coeval with the Syriac MS. in many parts of his works [a], mentions the cuſtom of the Franks to hang tapeſtry round the tombs of the deceaſed, the top terminating in a *ponticulus* or arch, in reference to the Ciborium. The ſame ideas were attended to by architects, as we find by Gervais's [b] account of the re-building of Canterbury.

Such then is the evidence of the origin of the Saxon feuillage which I have the honour of ſubmitting to this learned Society. It is a ſubject admitting, very probably, much more copious elucidation than is within the ſphere of my preſent information: a few hints are all I preſume to offer.

The oſcillation of human imbecillity, ever producing the wildeſt and moſt inexplicable appearances in the moral world, in the courſe of a few centuries gave a ſignal inſtance of its capricious power. What Chriſtians of the 4th and 5th centuries beheld with horror and deteſtation, Chriſtians of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries embraced as objects meriting the higheſt reſpect and confidence. A new ſtyle of architectural ornament ſucceeded, hitherto either totally unobſerved or but ſlightly noticed, though by no means an incurious ſubject.

The moſt perfect inſtance of this ſtyle are the capitals in the French church at Canterbury. The ingenious Editor of the Antiquarian Repertory [c], from whom they are copied [d], ſeems

[z] Μνημα, η ταφον, η σιδηριν. Meurſ. Gloſſ.

[a] De glor. Confeſſ. c. 20, 21. 30. Et de Mirac. l. i. c. 72. The "ſepulchrum ſub analogio" of this writer, and the "Tumba in modum domunculi" of Bede, were types of the Ciborium. Mallet, who alludes to the cuſtom of the Franks, ſuppoſes it of Scandanavian origin, but it is clearly derived from their acquaintance with Chriſtian practices. Northern Antiq. vol. I. p. 345.

[b] Clavem pro toto pono Ciborio—Factum eſt itaque Ciborium inter quatuor pilarios principales, &c. Gerv. Dorob. p. 1298.

[c] I. p. 57. [d] See plate XIV.

Capitals in the French Church at Canterbury.

to coincide with Mr. Goſtling's opinion, that this chapel was either conſtructed by Grymbald in the reign of Alfred, or by ſome other in that age; and his arguments are founded on the ſimilarity between the Canterbury ornaments, and thoſe in Grymbald's crypt at Oxford. There is a reſemblance in the ſize of the capitals, and at firſt glance the groteſques ſeem the ſame; but a cloſer examination will diſcover them to be of different ages. At Canterbury, they are well-drawn, diſtinct and expreſſive: at Oxford they are confuſed and unmeaning; and in the frizes on the north and ſouth fronts of Adderbury church, Oxfordſhire, we may trace a degradation of this ſtyle in the whimſical mixture of Cyclopſes, Januſes, warriors, and Egyptian hieroglyphical figures: the two former are from Roman originals; the latter betrays the wayward fancy of our rude anceſtors.

The irruption and ſettlement of the Saracens in the ſouth, the fierce and bloody conflicts of barbarous and Pagan nations in the north, and the univerſal corruption of religion, exhibit a diſmal picture of the ſtate of Europe in the 8th and ſucceeding ages. Charlemagne did every thing becoming a great prince to civilize the ſavage manners of the age, to reſtore Chriſtianity, and revive letters. His Capitulars are full of decrees for founding and re-building churches; and in Montfaucon [*e*] he is repreſented holding one: it has a round tower, and a ſpire riſing from it [*f*]. This is alluſive to his celebrated church of Aix-la-Chapelle. Hoſpinian [*g*] alſo remarks the aſtoniſhing number of magnificent religious edifices conſtructed in his reign. The Canterbury crypt ſeems of an earlier date.

[*e*] Les Monumens de la Monarchie Franc. p. 276.
[*f*] There are two round towers at Grymbald's crypt.
[*g*] De Templis, p. 36, 37.

If Oſbern's authority is of any weight, the undercroft at Canterbury was founded antecedent to the year 742; for that writer [*b*] informs us, that archbiſhop Cuthbert erected St. John's chapel in the eaſtern part of the greater church or cathedral. Archdeacon Battely, as I collect from Mr. Goſtling, aſcribed it to the believing Romans. The learned antiquary need not be told, that crypts formed the ſubſtructure of every great church: he will alſo think it more than probable, that the metropolitical church of Canterbury was not without them for near three hundred years, that is, from the age of Auguſtine to that of Grymbald; and more eſpecially ſo, when it is univerſally allowed, the undercroft, amid all the conflagrations and repairs it underwent, remained unalterably the ſame. There are not documents ſufficient preciſely to determine its age: let that be what it may, I ſhall take the liberty of conſidering its capitals, and next endeavour to account for the prevalence of Egyptian hieroglyphical figures on them and ſimilar works.

N° 1. Is the Aelurus, or Cat, one of the animals [*i*] generally adored in Egypt, becauſe it was believed to ſupply a cure againſt the bite of aſps, and other venomous creatures. Yet it is not likely the feline race would have been ſo honoured, even in this ſuperſtitious country, was it not ſymbolical of their great deity Iſis [*k*].

N° 2. Is obviouſly another Egyptian groteſque: it is a hawk killing a ſerpent. Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Ælian inform us, this bird was worſhiped in Egypt for freeing the country from ſnakes, ſcorpions and other reptiles; and Plutarch records, that

[*b*] Apud Wharton. Anglia Sac. vol I. p. 75.

[*i*] Strab. l. 17. Diod. Sic. l. 1. Montfaucon, tom. 2. p. 310.

[*k*] Felis ob varietatem, &c. Iſidem indicabat. Pignor. Mem. Iſ. p. 31.

a hawk

a hawk fighting with a ſerpent was repreſented ſtanding on the ſtatue of Typhon [*l*]: the archetype probably of our ſculpture.

N° 3. is an ideal quadruped, ſuch as the Egyptian Gryphon [*m*] is deſcribed; with the beak, talons, and wings of an eagle, and the body of a lion. It is here killing ſome noxious bird or ſerpent. The gryphon was ſacred to Oſiris [*n*].

N° 4, 5, 6, 7. The fourth ſeems to be a Gladiator, or criminal engaged with a lion: the fifth a horſeman with a cap and trowſe: the ſixth a ſheep, to which the Egyptian Soütes and Thebans paid divine honours; and the ſeventh an equeſtrian figure, common on Roman coins.

N° 8. is a pure Egyptian figure, a double-headed Anubis beſtriding a double-headed crocodile. In Boiſſard's and other collections, Anubis ſtanding on a crocodile is frequent; nor is a double-headed Anubis leſs ſo. We have ſeen the Aelurus, the hawk, and the gryphon, referred to the great Egyptian gods, Iſis and Oſiris: the ſame may be ſaid of Anubis, who was the inſeparable [*o*] companion of Iſis.

N° 9. A man ſitting on the head of another holds in one hand a fiſh, and in the other a cup. The fiſh named Oxyrinchus was generated from the blood of Oſiris, and was ſacred in Egypt. According to Hyginus it alluded to ſome fable concerning Iſis.

[*l*] Ιεραξ οφιν μαχομενος. De Iſ. et Oſir. p. 371. He tells us Oſiris was depicted as a hawk, ibid.

[*m*] Plutarch. Symp. l. 4. quæſt. 5. Voſſ. de Idol. l. iii. c. 100.

[*n*] Pignor. p. 15.

[*o*] Fuit individuus Iſidis comes. Pignor. p. 32, who produces an antient inſcription, wherein Iſis, Serapis, Anubis, and Harpocrates, are called Θεα συνναα.

N° 10. a double-headed monſter. Tertullian [*p*] ſeems to deſcribe ſuch forms; and ſimilar ones may be ſeen in Montfaucon.

N° 11. is a bird deſtroying a crocodile; for they are of two ſpecies [*q*]: or perhaps ſome ſerpent of the lizard kind.

N° 12. is a ſatyr reſting on two deer. The "aures ſatyrorum acutæ," and the "capripedes Panes" of the Roman poets are well known.

N° 13. are two birds on a Roman maſque.

N° 14. is a groteſque, with the head and comb of a cock; the body and arms human; the ſhoulders winged, with the feet and tail of a ſatyr: it is playing on a violin with a bow, and behind is a ſcalene triangle. Oppoſite is another groteſque blowing a trumpet, with the head and horns of a goat, the lower extremities human. That theſe are Egyptian hieroglyphical figures we may appeal to Porphyry [*r*], to Tertullian, Min. Felix, Pignorius, Montfaucon, and Chifflet. Whatever occult meaning may be concealed under theſe groteſques, there is one very obvious, and agreeable to the genius of the Egyptian ſuperſtition. Its profeſſors in every age were as negligent of decency in their [*s*] ſacred rites as in their public conduct. It was a fatal omen of the decline of the Roman empire for its princes to be ſo devoted to this foreign religion. Suetonius mentions it as an inſtance of Otho's effeminacy, that he celebrated the myſteries of Iſis clad in the linen veſtments of her prieſts. In Petronius, Egyptian youths attend feaſts, and pour ſnow water on the hands of the company. They excelled no leſs in muſic than in the other elegant means of corrupting manners.

[*p*] Canino capite et leonino, et de bove et ariete. Ad Nat. l. i. c. 14.
[*q*] Salmaſ. Plin. Exerc. p. 454.
[*r*] Porphyr. De Abſtinent. l. iv. § 9.
[*s*] Jamque expectatur in hortis,
Aut apud Iſiacæ potius ſacraria lenæ. Juv. VI. 487, 488.

Cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditàna ſuſurrat. Mart.

Verus brought many muſical performers to Rome from Syria and Alexandria. According to Kircher, the triangle denoted Orus, the ſon of Iſis and Oſiris: or it was a figure which the Egyptians obſerved their favourite Ibis often to make [*t*].

Sir John Hawkins [*u*] gives us the Giuſtiniani Apollo playing on a violin with a bow: the body of the inſtrument is ſomewhat rounder than ours. This ſtatue, doctor Burney [*x*] informs us, has been proved by Winkelmann and Mengs to be modern: he thinks the violin and bow, which appear on an antique ewer and baſon dug up at Soiſſons, the oldeſt hitherto diſcovered. Le Beuf, he adds, ſuppoſes them to be as antient as the year 752. To the ſentiments of theſe eminent ſcholars and antiquaries I ſhould moſt readily ſubſcribe, and particularly ſo, as they would nearly aſcertain the date of the undercroft, could I reconcile them with Venantius Fortunatus. This writer flouriſhed about the middle of the ſixth century, and mentions the *Chrotta Britanna*, or Britiſh *Crwth*. From the drawing of this inſtrument in the third volume of the Archaeologia, it is plain it was of the fidicinal kind; and the tranſition from this to the violin eaſy: yet I ſhould think it an exceſs of patriotiſm to aſcribe the invention of this elegant inſtrument to the Britons. They muſt rather have corrupted the violin into the crwth from a Greek or Roman original.

Enough has been ſaid of theſe capitals to found a conjecture that this crypt was an Iſeum [*y*], or Roman chapel ſacred to

[*t*] Ισοπλευρον τριγωνον. Plutarch. de Iſid. et Oſir. p. 6, υ.

[*u*] Hiſtory of Muſic, vol. I. p. 246.

[*x*] Ibid, p. 515.

[*y*] A ſimilar inſtance, and in point, are the vaults at Hexham, wherein are many fragments of Roman inſcriptions, groteſque figures, which are true ſigillaria or ſigilliola, and much carved ſtone work. Hexham and Canterbury were Roman ſtations. Hutchinſon's Excurſion to the Lakes, p. 303—307.

Iſis; or that it was an early imitation of Roman models. Groteſques are derived from the excentricity of Egyptian ſuperſtition, which affected [*z*] ſtriking and monſtrous forms rather than thoſe that were comely and beautiful; and the more to inſpire religious dread and horror, theſe groteſques were moſtly confined to crypts, and hence they got their appellation [*a*].

The northern nations from vicinity or intercourſe [*b*] had been long converſant with the ſuperſtition of Rome, and like her were addicted to magic and ſpells. So exactly did their ideas aſſimilate on theſe heads, that Wormius [*c*] declares one egg does not more cloſely reſemble another than the Egyptian and Daniſh hieroglyphics. Boetius found numberleſs hieroglyphics in Scotland, which tradition aſcribed to the Daniſh times: of theſe he thus ſpeaks in Holinſhed's tranſlation; "That the "Scots at firſt uſed the rules and manners of the Egyptians [*d*], "from whence they came; and in all their private affairs they "did not write with common letters, as other nations did, but "rather with cyphers and figures of creatures, made in man-"ner of letters, as their epitaphs on their tombs and ſepulchres "remaining amongſt us do hitherto declare. Nevertheleſs this "hieroglyphical manner of writing, in our times, is periſhed "and loſt." Mr. Pennant met with theſe groteſques in his

[*z*] Quorum ſtudium in id magis incumbebat, ut picturas miras exprimerent, quam ut venuſtatem affectarent. Pignor. p. 7. Vitruv. l. vii. c. 5. et Not. in loco. Li Pitture d'Ercolano, tom. iii. p. 296. n. 2. and p. 312.

[*a*] Italis dictas *grotteſcas* credo, quod in terra obrutis veterum ædificiorum fornicibus, quas *grottas*, quaſi cryptas vocant, primum invenerint. Pignor. ſupra.

[*b*] Ten years before the Incarnation Druſus conquered and colonized the country of the Anglo-Saxons. Tacit. l. iv. c. 12. Camden and Stillingfleet.

[*c*] Vix ovum ovo ſimilius deprehendes. Faſt. Dan. p. 45, 46. Mon. Dan. 92.

[*d*] The popular fiction of Gathelus and Scota was very convenient for explaining theſe Scottiſh hieroglyphics.

Tour

Tour in Scotland: he aſks whence could artiſts acquire their ideas of centaurs and animals proper to the torrid zone?

In the year 1655, the tomb of Childeric I. was diſcovered at Tournai, and in it the head of an ox with a ſun in his forehead, all of gold; and leſt the figure ſhould be miſtaken [*e*], there were about three hundred golden *apes*, or bees, to ſhew that Childeric's tutelary deity was the Egyptian Apis. Montfaucon [*f*] ſays, there were many oval coins found at the ſame time, with the ſcarabæus and frog on them; and then aſks, were theſe derived to the Franks from the Egyptians? did the former alſo worſhip them? Had theſe ingenious writers applied but a ſmall portion of their erudition to this ſubject, they would ſoon have detected the obſcurity which overſhadows the introduction and uſe of theſe hieroglyphics, and thereby ſuperſeded the neceſſity of the following obſervations.

The Egyptian ſuperſtition had, by its various adumbrations and explications [*g*], ſo confounded the antient ſyſtem of Grecian and Roman theology as to make it a perfect chaos. This with the open profligacy of its votaries made the Romans in the 696th year of the city, eject it. It ſtole in again, and was again expelled. So true is it what Macrobius writes, that with difficulty thoſe deities were eſtabliſhed at Rome. At length they were permitted without the walls, but generally deſpiſed to the reign of Nero; when Lucan ſays,

> Nos in templa tua Romana recipimus Iſin,
> Semideoſque canes.

[*e*] Et ne quis Apim eſſe neſciret, adjectæ fuerant apes aureæ pluſquam trecentæ, ut ex harum nomine illius intelligeretur. Huet. Dem. Evang. p. 147. edit. 8vo.

[*f*] Monum. de la Monarch. Fran. p. 10. 15.

[*g*] Moſheim ad Cudworth, c. iv. et Bruker, Hiſt. Philoſ. tom. i. p. 246, are ample on this ſubject.

The

The ſingular reſpect ſhewn to Egyptian idolatry, and its adoption about this time, may, I think, with certainty be developed from an anecdote of Nero, preſerved by Suetonius. An unknown plebeian preſented the emperor with a little female image, as a protectreſs againſt conſpiracies. In a ſhort time after, having diſcovered ſome ſecret machinations, he aſcribed the diſcovery to this image, worſhiped it as a ſovereign deity, and ſacrificed to it thrice a day. Adrian had a like image ſtuck with old iron letters, which he adored with his other chamber-divinities.

The ſucceſſors of Auguſtus lived in perpetual fear of aſſaſſinations and inſurrections: the nobility were debauched; the commons wretchedly poor, and the ſoldiery ſeditious and undiſciplined. Dreadful apprehenſions conſtantly haunted the diſturbed imagination of the reigning prince; without vigour or firmneſs to take a judicious or deciſive ſtep to avert danger, he became a prey to the weakneſs of his paſſions; and ſought information, aid, and protection, from amulets and ſpells. It was here the Egyptian charlatannerie powerfully recommended itſelf to the vain hopes and fears of a debauched people by the ſuperior virtue of its taliſmans. The ſkill of the orientals in aſtrology was confeſſed, and their ſpells and charms eſteemed of the moſt indiſputable efficacy and power. The deities, whoſe figures thoſe amulets bore, were not leſs cried up. Artemidorus, a contemporary, is full on this head. If, ſays he, you dream of Iſis, Anubis, and Harpocrates, or of their ſtatues or myſteries, it portends confuſions, dangers, threatenings and misfortunes; from which however beyond your hopes they will preſerve you: for theſe gods have ever been Saviours [*b*], keeping their votaries unhurt in the extremeſt difficulties.

[*b*] Αει γαρ σωτηρες. Oneiroc. l. ii. c. 44.

In

In conſequence of this prepoſſeſſion and confidence in the Egyptian ſuperſtition their amulets multiplied to infinity: from the higheſt to the loweſt every one procured and carried them. All imitated the prince.

Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum.

Now, ſays Pliny, in the reign of Trajan, they begin to wear Harpocrates and the Egyptian gods on their fingers. Commodus ſhaved his head, and bore Anubis in his arms, when he celebrated the rites of Iſis. Under Adrian many of thoſe Egyptian temples were erected. Severus repaired the Iſeum and Serapeum. Caracalla conſtructed a large fane to Iſis; as Antoninus Pius did to Serapis. In a word, Otho, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Philip and Tetricus were intirely devoted to the Egyptian religion, as their coins and the writers of the Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ teſtify. Every part of Europe, Aſia, and Africa was conſequently deeply infected with it.

In the ſecond century, Baſilides and other hereſiarchs of the oriental ſchool, taking advantage of the reigning ſuperſtitions, and to increaſe the number of their followers [*i*] interwove many heathen notions and practices into their ſyſtem of Chriſtianity: they formed innumerable amulets, engraven with Egyptian hieroglyphics, monſtrous letters and the names of Æons. Theſe were to ſecure the poſſeſſors longevity, opulence, health, and ſucceſs. Theſe heretics, according to St. Jerome, diſſeminated their peſtilent notions over France and Spain, where they more particularly ſolicited and obtained the patronage of the fair ſex. The teſtimony of this father is ſtrengthened in the higheſt degree by the multiplicity of abraxas found in thoſe kingdoms, exhibited by Chiflet and Montfaucon, and by the works

[*i*] Bruker, tom. ii. paſſim. Moſheim's Ecc. Hiſtory.

of

of Irenæus, biſhop of Lyons, who wrote againſt them. It is further evident from Lindenbrog's code of barbarian laws, that the Franks and Romans occupied in common the country of Gaul, as the other tribes and Romans did Spain and the reſt of the empire: the former [*k*] accommodated their civil inſtitutions as well as their religious opinions to thoſe of the latter. Julian, Conſtantius, and even the Chriſtian emperor Conſtantine bore Egyptian ſymbols on their coins; nor need we wonder at a barbarian prince, as Childeric, ambitiouſly imitating ſuch examples. This reaſoning ſeems concluſive; and at the ſame time gives the ſolution of the appearance of the Egyptian Apis and Scarabæus in the tomb of a French king, and of hieroglyphics on antient northern monuments.

In like manner, numberleſs muſt have been the temples and crypts ſacred to Egyptian deities diſperſed over Europe; whoſe feuillage was the ſame as that in the undercroft at Canterbury. Some of them with all their hieroglyphical ornaments were converted to Chriſtian churches, as [*l*] that of St. Andrew in Barbara in Rome appears at this day. Some were conſtructed on the ſite of ſuch temples, as the church of St. Germain was on that of the fane of Iſis [*m*]. The furious though pious zeal of believers, and the rage of accommodating every thing to the faſhionable ſtyle have deprived us of many of theſe antient monuments: enough remain to eſtabliſh the idea advanced in theſe pages.

The decay of learning and the corruption of religion reduced Chriſtianity almoſt to ſemi-paganiſm. From St. Audeon's life

[*k*] Monteſquieu l'eſprit des loix. Camden de Offic. Mareſchal. Baxter. Gloſſ. Antiq. Rom. voce, Aurum.

[*l*] Ciampini de Sac. Ædif. tom. i. p. 19.

[*m*] Le lieu qui parut le plus propre fut celui ou ſelon l'opinion commune reſtoient encore les anciens veſtiges du temple d'Iſis. Brouillart Hiſt. de l'Abbé de St. Germain, p. 4. This was A. D. 556.

of

of St. Eloi, biſhop of Noyon, we find, that the antient heathen deities were commonly worſhiped in France in the ſeventh century; and in ſucceeding ages the Capitulars, Councils and Rhegino demonſtrate with what difficulty idolatry was repreſſed, though neither ſubdued or eradicated; for it received new vigour, and the eaſtern ſuperſtition particularly freſh ſtrength, from the congenial myſtic theology of the Arabians. It is not unreaſonable then to ſuppoſe, that the fondneſs for hieroglyphics and groteſques had not abated in the ninth century, when Grymbald founded his crypt at Oxford; though ſhortly after the Danes introduced a new ſtyle, compoſed of antient groteſques, Greek and Roman mythologic figures, and whimſies of their own, as at Adderbury church.

The moſt elegant figure there is on the ſouth front; it is a ſtar or rather mullet of five points, a true Egyptian magical figure, the ſame as ſeen on a Canopus in Montfaucon [*n*]. I ſhall not trouble this learned Society with any remarks on the ſculptures to be met with on churches, croſſes and ſepulchral ſtones of this period, but beg leave to lay before them a new ſpecimen of the Daniſh ſtyle from this kingdom.

Samuel Hayes, Eſq. one of the repreſentatives for the town of Wicklow, whoſe knowledge of antiquities and whoſe taſte for the polite arts are juſtly admired, was fortunate in ſearching the ruins of Glendaloch, about ſix miles from his ſeat, to diſcover a ſmall ſtone-roofed crypt, which for centuries had been buried amid the rubbiſh of a contiguous fallen church, unnoticed and unexplored, though evidently the moſt antient remains at this celebrated place. The entrance into this chapel (almoſt filled with the tomb of St. Keywin) is through a weſt door, whoſe arch with the capitals and baſes of its pillars is ornamented with various figures. There are no traces of Saxon feuillage: no

[*n*] Tom. ii. p. 366.

Chriſtian ſymbols, or alluſion to ſacred or legendary ſtory: the ſculptures are expreſſive of the moſt ſavage and uncultivated ſtate of ſociety. Had there been a mixture of ſtyles, ſomething might be allowed for the caprices of the carver: but as this is not the caſe, it may not be thought preſumptuous to call it an inſtance of the early Daniſh ſtyle. See Pl. XV. fig. 6.

In 880, Alfred obliged Guthrum to embrace Chriſtianity: but this forced converſion had little influence on his ſubjects or ſucceſſors, for in 925, Sittric, the Daniſh prince of Northumberland had Edgitha, ſiſter of Athelſtan, beſtowed on him in marriage on his renouncing Paganiſm; and a croſs appears on his coin in Camden. In 984, according to Sir James Ware, the Iriſh Danes received the faith; but it was earlier, as marks of Chriſtianity are ſeen on a coin of Anlaff, A. D. 930. So that it is extremely probable the Engliſh and Iriſh Danes embraced the Goſpel about the ſame time. Theſe facts enable us to aſcertain the date of our ſculptures, which ſeems to be about the middle of the tenth century: for it has [o] elſewhere been proved by the concurrent teſtimony of foreign and domeſtic writers, that few veſtiges of maſonry appeared in this iſle prior to the Daniſh invaſion. The ſculptures themſelves confirm the truth of theſe obſervations. See plate XVI.

N° 1. A ravenous quadruped here devours a human head: the head is a living one; the hair, whiſkers, and beard give it a ſavage appearance.

N° 2. Exhibits a youthful head and a wolf; the long hair of the former elegantly entwined with the tail of the latter. The hair thus thrown back from the forehead was the genuine Iriſh Culan, Cooleen, or Glibb. Wolves, untill the year 1710, were not extirpated; the mountains of Glendaloch muſt have abounded

[o] Collectanea de reb. Hib. N° 6.

with

1

2

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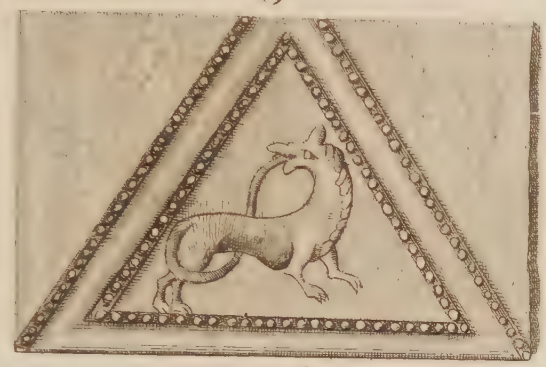

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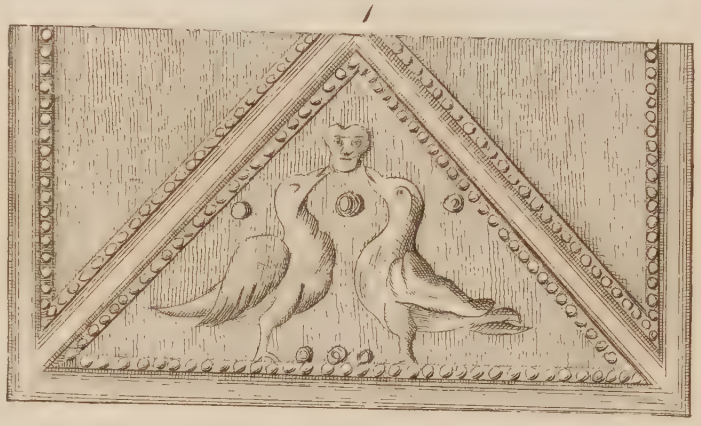

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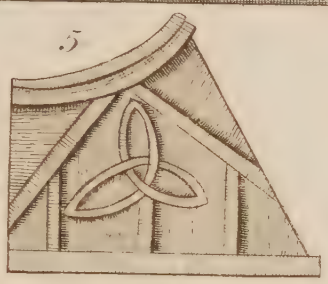

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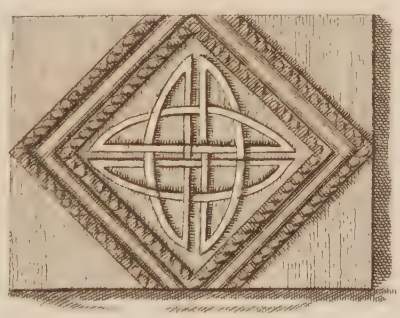

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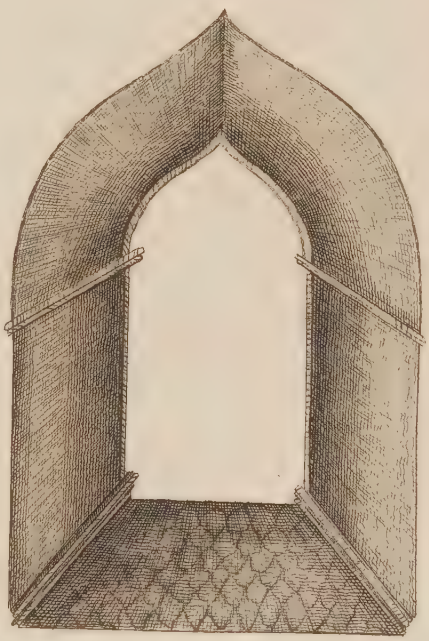

W. door's ornaments of the Crypt, at Glendalloch.

with them. There was a ſingular propriety in joining the tail of this animal with the glibb of the young man, to indicate the fondneſs of the one for the purſuit of the other.

N° 3. is a wolf in a rage, with his tail in his mouth. The ferocity of this animal, and his delight in human blood are the chief themes of Scaldic poetry. Their great deity, Odin [*p*], was conſtantly attended by two, named Geri and Freki, to whom he diſtributed meat from his table.

N° 4. are two ravens picking a ſkull. The raven was more peculiarly ſacred to Odin; he is called the king of ravens [*q*]. The three daughters of Lodbrog worked a Reafan on the ſtandard of Hinguar and Hubba with many magical incantations, which was to be invincible. This enſign, common among the northern people, was ſuppoſed to give omens of victory or defeat; if the bird on it gayly fluttered in the wind, it preſaged ſucceſs; but if it hung down motionleſs it portended misfortunes. It is plain from many Abraxas in Chiflet, and many paſſages adduced in Cuper's Harpocrates, that the raven was an Egyptian hieroglyphic, and had a predictive virtue. St. Ambroſe (for the notes

[*p*] Cibum menſæ ſuæ impoſitum Odinus duobus lupis diſtribuit, qui vocantur Geri et Freki. Itaque cum lupi cadaveribus impenſe delectentur, nihil uſitatius Scaldis antiquis. Bartholin. de contempt. mort. p. 424.

[*q*] Corvus Odino peculiariter ſacratus erat, ut et *Deus Corvorum* nominaretur. Barth. ſup. p. 429. 475. A Scaldic poem in Wormius mentions the ſlaughter of the Danes at Vedrafiord or Waterford, probably about the time of Alfred. It is full of the fierce and bloody ideas of thoſe northerns.

Gaudebat pugna lætus
Accipiter, ob gladiorum ludum.
Non fecit aquilam aut aprum,
Qui *Irlandiam* gubernavit.
Conventus fiebat ferri et clypei.
Marſtanus rex jejunis.
Fiebat in Vedræ ſinu
Præda data corvis.

on St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans [*r*] are aſcribed to him) mentions the raven as adored in Egypt, and that the Pagans in his time celebrated *Coracina ſacra*, theſe raven feaſts, which I believe are noticed by no other writer, may poſſibly enable us to account for the cheſts of birds bones found in Chriſt Church, Twynham, and which might have been ſacraficed on theſe occaſions by the Romans, or our ſucceeding northern conquerors.

N° 5. 5. 5. Theſe figures are runic knots, compoſed of the ſegments of circles, their arcs and chords interſecting each other. There is ſcarce a carved ſtone, croſs, or other remnant of antiquity during the time of the Daniſh power, but exhibit a knot of ſome kind: in the middle of the ninth century, it appears on the ring of the Anglo-Saxon prince Ethelwulf [*s*]. Wormius gives but little information or ſatisfaction on this head; but Keyſler ſupplies his defects. From him we learn that there were ſeven kinds of runes [*t*], adapted to promote every human action and wiſh. They were victorious, applied to fountains and trees, cordial, drinking, and medicinal runes, according to the ceremonies obſerved in writing them; in the materials on which they were written; in the place where they were expoſed, and in the manner in which the lines were drawn, whether in the form of a circle, of a ſerpent, or triangle, &c. ſays Mallet. Hickes, in his Theſaurus, tells us of a ſilver ſhield found in the Iſle of Ely; the convex ſide had many knots and gyrations, which he pronounces magical: on the concave was a runic inſcription, praying defence and protection to the wearer. The cyphers dotted on the breaſt, and between the thumb and forefinger of our common people, are the *runæ cereviſiariæ* of Keyzler. The

[*r*] Cave ſays they were written by Hilarius, A. D. 354. Hiſt. Liter. p. 119. Cuperi Harpocrates, p. 70.

[*s*] Archaeologia, vol. VII. p. 409.

[*t*] Antiq. Septent. p. 465. Sunt enim Runæ victoriales, fontanæ, cereviſiariæ, auxiliatrices, cordiales, arboreæ: the ſeventh he calls Logo Runæ.

figures

figures on the Egyptian Canopus, on the frize at Adderbury, the ſcutum Davidis [*u*] and our ſegments of circles were magic knots of triangular and oval ſhields, which were to ſecure the wearer from harm. So late as the year 1504, William Faques [*x*], an Engliſh printer, took the ſcutum Davidis as a ſpell againſt fire and accidents. Even in the next century, ſpells had not loſt their credit in the north of England, as Nicolſon in Camden records. As religion advanced among our Daniſh anceſtors, they relinquiſhed their former ſavage ſculptures, and introduced Chriſtian ſymbols; not all at once, but by a gradation eaſily to be traced. Thus on the Eaſt ſide of the font at St. Brides [*y*] in Cumberland, where the baptiſm of our Lord is repreſented, we find a runic knot and groteſque figures. The bead ornament on the tail of the animal, and the head or maſque here ſeem to be in the ſame ſtyle as the Oxford and Canterbury crypts. The font at Barnard Caſtle, given by the ſame author, has likewiſe magic cyphers. A coin or amulet in Camden's Weſtmoreland ſhews the god Thor on one ſide, and on the other a Chriſtian croſs. Inſtances every where occur.

A few obſervations on the Gothic ſtyle, or that mode of building with pointed arches, ſhall conclude this paper. The moſt learned writers have differed very materially in their notions concerning the origin of this ſtyle. Sir Henry Wotton, ſpeaking of Gothic arches [*z*], ſays, "thoſe arches which our artizans call of the third or fourth point, becauſe they always concur in an acute angle, and do ſpring from the diviſion of the diameter into three, four, or more parts at pleaſure, I ſay as to theſe, both for the natural imbecillity of the ſharp angle

[*u*] Fabric. Cod. Pſeudepig. tom. ii. p. 1007.
[*x*] Ames's Typog. Antiq. by Herbert, I. p. 309.
[*y*] Hutchinſon's Excurſion to the Lakes, p. 224.
[*z*] Remains, p. 32.

"itſelf,

" itſelf, and likewiſe for their very uncomelineſs, ought to be " exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their firſt inventors, " the Goths and Lumbards, amongſt other reliques of that bar- " barous age." The idea of this mode of architecture being derived from the North became univerſal in Europe, and was carried to great exceſs. The Goths, ſays an intelligent writer [*a*], a rough unpoliſhed people, of huge ſtature and dreadful looks, carried into milder climates their monſtrous taſte of heavy architecture. A ſtrange unphiloſophical fancy! as if the ſize or looks of men gave a bias to their mental exertions!

Sir Chriſtopher Wren firſt diſſented from the general opinion, and aſcribed theſe works to the Saracens, from whom they were adopted by the weſtern Croiſſees. His hypotheſis is ingenious and learned, and has found admirers and followers in biſhop Warburton, Mr. Warton, and others. Time has revealed its errors; no ſuch Saracenic works exiſt in Spain or Sicily, or in any other place to which the Arabian power extended.

But in no reſpect were the Goths the founders of an order of architecture. For granting that, according to Philoſtorgius [*b*] and Sozomen, the Goths embraced the faith about the year 266, and to have built churches under the direction of Chriſtians whom they captivated, we may be aſſured from the ſtate of civility and the arts among them, they were not better than cabins, or extemporaneous huts. Durable buildings were not to be looked for among a people, at this period, in perpetual motion and of unſettled reſidence.

Or ſuppoſe with the author [*c*] of " The Ornaments of churches conſidered," that on the weſtern world being reduced to poſitive ſubjection in the ſixth century the Gothic princes applied to

[*a*] Mr. Riou's Grecian Orders of Architecture.
[*b*] Philoſtorg. l. ii. c. 5. Soz. l. ii. c. 6.
[*c*] Page 83.

the

the cultivation of the mechanical and liberal arts, and that this was the æra of Gothic architecture, we ſhall ſee, that a concluſion quite oppoſite to what he deduces ariſes fairly from his authority. I recollect but one or two paſſages in Caſſiodorus, and they make againſt him. Directions are given about the repairs of the royal palace [*d*]. The architect is ordered to preſerve the antient part of the building in its priſtine beauty, and to make the new [*e*] imitate the old. The better to enable him to perform this, he is deſired frequently to read Euclid's [*f*] Geometry, and to have Archimedes and Metrobius as his conſtant companions: every thing was to be ſo executed, that the works ſhould be unlike thoſe of antiquity only in their newneſs [*g*].

Here is the moſt deciſive proof, that in the Gothic age, A. D. 514, and under a Gothic prince, Theodoric, the Greek and Roman ſtyles, and their moſt correct modules were admired, and nothing held in eſtimation but the antique: an evidence ſufficient for ever to overthrow every hypotheſis on this head.

"But, ſays the ſame author, the Italians call the Gothic mode, architettura Tedeſca, or Celtic architecture, and it ſeems to be the ſame in ſome reſpects with the barbarous form in temples of which Plato and Strabo ſpeak." Did this reference lead to a diſcovery of this ſtyle in thoſe antients, we ſhould have been much indebted to his erudition: but unfortunately this is not the caſe. Not to inſiſt on his miſtake of making *Tedeſca*

[*d*] Caſſiod. Var. p. 217, 218.

[*e*] Ut antiqua in nitorem priſtinum contineas, et nova ſimili antiquitate producas. Caſſiod. ſupra.

[*f*] "The moſt general forms of architecture may be comprehended under the triangle, the ſquare and the circle; and the ſeveral parts which conſtitute a complete order are of a ſimilar conſtruction with thoſe geometrical figures." Kirby's Perſpective of Architecture.

[*g*] Ut ab opere veterum ſola diſtet novitas fabricarum.

or Teutonic the ſame as Celtic, an error expoſed by the learned and ingenious tranſlator of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, let us ſee what Plato advances.

In his Dialogue, named Critias, he deſcribes the climate, ſoil, and produce of the Iſle of Atlantis, and the temple of Neptune in it. A profuſion of gold, ſilver and orichalc was diſplayed on its columns and pavement. The length, breadth and height of the temple were regular [*h*], *but it had ſomething barbarous in its aſpect.* Theſe laſt words he fixes on to prove the exiſtence of the Gothic ſtyle in the Atlantic iſle, which conſequently he muſt ſuppoſe to be the Atlantis or Sweden, of the viſionary Rudbeck, when in reality Plato meant no more by barbarous aſpect, but that the diſpoſition of the temple was not exact in reſpect of the heavens, or of its parts, as is explained by Vitruvius. Strabo gives no more countenance to our author than Plato and Caſſiodorus.

It would be great preſumption to propoſe conjectures on the origin of this ſtyle, when men of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities have failed in giving that ſatisfaction which might be expected from them. The matter does not ſeem to depend on ingenuity, but rather on an acquaintance with the productions of antient art. There are enough of the latter to evince, that the pointed arch was known and uſed many centuries before the Gothic power was eſtabliſhed, or the romantic expeditions to the Holy Land commenced.

About the year of Chriſt 132, Antinous, the favourite of the emperor Adrian, was drowned in the Nile. This prince, to perpetuate his memory, founded a city in Egypt, and called it after his name. Pere Bernat made drawings of its ruins, which are in the third Tome of Montfaucon's Antiquities. Among them

[*h*] Ειδος δε τι βαρβαρικον εχουσος.

is

is the pointed arch, not perfectly Gothic, but that called conſtraſted. Another conſtraſted arch appears in the Syriac MS. ſo that in theſe inſtances, Sir Henry Wotton and others who aſcribed them to the Goths and Lombards are miſtaken. In Horſley are Roman ſepulchral ſtones with pointed arches. One example, and there muſt have been many now fallen a prey to the ravages of time, would have been ſufficient to have proved their exiſtence and uſe, and the probability of their ſerving as models, after a lapſe of years, for a new ſtyle, and this new ſtyle ſeems to have begun about A. D. 1000.

The arches of churches on the coins of Berengarius, king of Italy, and Lewis the Pious, and thoſe in the Menologium Græcum, Urbini 1727, ſhew the ſtrait arch was [*i*] in uſe in the ninth and tenth centuries. On a coin of Edward the Confeſſor, in Camden, is a pointed arch; the church there is ſuppoſed to be that of Bury St. Edmund repaired by him. As all our antient hiſtorians reſent his attachment to the Normans among whom he was educated, it is likely he ſaw this new arch on the Continent, and introduced it into his works: it muſt therefore be earlier there than the date of its adoption here, and may be of the age before aſſigned for its revival. Some architectural novelty ſeems to have made its appearance at this period, as may be collected from the words of Glaber Rudolph [*k*], a Benedictine monk and cotemporary, and churches, no doubt, took the form of this faſhionable innovation. A drawing of the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter in the firſt volume of the Archaeologia, ſuppoſed to be conſtructed by Edward the Confeſſor, has pointed arches; and authentic evidence corroborates what

[*i*] The ſame may be ſaid of the ſtrait arches in round towers, in Ireland.

[*k*] Infra milleſimum tertio jam fere imminente anno contigit, in univerſo pene terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et Galliis innovari eccleſiarum baſilicas. III. c. 4. Apud du Cheſne, Hiſt. Francor. Scriptores, IV. p. 27, 28.

has been obſerved on this coin, as well as the notice in Rudolph. The church of Kirkdale, mentioned by Mr. Brooke, has alſo the pointed arch, and is of the age of the Confeſſor. And I ſubmit it with great deference to the judgement of the Society, whether the *novum genus ædificandi* of William of Malmeſbury, applied to the architecture of the Conqueror's reign, does not imply ſomething more than extent and magnificence; and whether, to complete the idea of a new ſtyle, we ought not to take in the pointed arch and Gothic ornaments?

I am, &c.

EDWARD LEDWICH.

XX. *A circumſtantial Detail of the Battle of* Lincoln, *A. D.* 1217, 1 Henry III. *By the Rev.* Samuel Pegge. *In a Letter to the Rev.* William Norris, *Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read May 11, 1786.

SIR,

IT is impoſſible that morſels or particular portions of hiſtory ſhould be related in general hiſtories ſo minutely as one could wiſh. Enough may be therein ſaid to gratify the curioſity of the readers of a national hiſtory, of France or England ſuppoſe, and I may add of foreigners, who will be ſatisfied with knowing the event of a battle, and the conſequences of it; but a native of the place of action, well acquainted with the ſcene, ſomeway connected with it, or perhaps at this day reſiding upon it, expects, and is even deſirous of being informed of all the circumſtances, though perhaps but ſmall and inſignificant in themſelves, relative to the tranſaction, ſo far as at this diſtance of time they can be recovered.

It was upon this principle, Sir, that A. D. 1771, if you pleaſe to recollect, I preſented the Society with a narrative of the battle of Cheſterfield, com. Derb. in the reign of king Henry III. [*a*], and whereas there have been two conſiderable actions at Lincoln, one A. D. 1142, in king Stephen's time, when that king

[*a*] Printed in Archaeologia, vol. II. p. 276.

was taken priſoner, and whereof we are poſſeſſed of a very ſatisfactory account by the elegant and judicious pen of George, lord Lyttelton [*b*]; the other, A. D. 1217, on the acceſſion of king Henry III. of which, though equally important with the former, and more deciſive, we have as yet no diſtinct and diffuſive narration; my deſign at preſent is, to compile from our antient hiſtorians an enlarged and ſpecifical detail of what paſſed at Lincoln on this latter and very memorable occaſion; ſuch, as I truſt, may prove not only acceptable to you, whoſe candour and friendſhip I have ſo long experienced, but to every lover of our Engliſh antiquities.

The caſtle of Lincoln [*c*] was at this time in the king's hand; and Lewis, the dauphine, being ſtill in England, Gilbert de Gant, earl of Lincoln [*d*], and one of the moſt ſtrenuous of his partiſans, was very deſirous, in conjunction with his aſſociates, of recovering it, as a place of conſequence, for that prince. They therefore beſieged it, but could not ſucceed, though poſſeſſed of the city, and both the citizens and canons of the church were entirely diſpoſed, as well they might, conſidering the great power and intereſt earl Gilbert had in thoſe parts, to befriend and aſſiſt them all they could.

The *earl of Perche*, upon this, the dauphine's general and governour [*e*], a young nobleman of great courage and aſſiſted by a marſhal of France [*f*], arrived at Lincoln, and brought with him, as willing to co-operate with the aſſailants and rein-

[*b*] Hiſtory of Henry II. vol. I. p. 329. edit. 8vo.

[*c*] We have it largely deſcribed by Mr. King, Archaeologia, VI. p. 261, and Sir H. C. Englefield. Ib. p. 376.

[*d*] So made by Lewis the Dauphine. Mat. Par. p. 285. Dugd. Bar. I. 401. Vincent on Brooke, 315.

[*e*] Lewis was then but fourteen years old. Dugd. Bar. I. p. 42.

[*f*] The Annotator on Rapin, p. 247, calls the earl of Perche a *marſhal of France*; but this was a different perſon. M. Paris, p. 295. 297. Chron. Mailros, p. 194.

force them, a body of troops conſiſting of no leſs than ſix hundred knights, and twenty thouſand foot [*g*].

Walter Hemingford and *Henry Knighton* (who, by the way, tranſcribes Walter,) pretend, that 'the earls of Cheſter, Albe-'marle and Warwick [*h*], beſieged *Mount-Sorel* [for the king] 'ſeven weeks [*i*], but the *barons* coming upon them, they re-'linquiſhed the ſiege, and withdrew to Nottingham, where 'having collected more forces, they proceeded thence to Lin-'coln, and joining the royaliſts that were there before, *aſſaulted* 'the caſtle with their warlike engines. *Nicholaa*, widow of 'Gerard Camvile [*k*], defended it gallantly, but the earls at laſt 'carried the place, ſlaying ſome of the barons, taking others 'captive, plundering the city, and carrying the citizens away 'as priſoners of war. The ſoldiers made a ſtable at this time 'of the cathedral, filling it with horſes and other cattle, and 'thereby profaning the houſe of the Lord. The earls then 'went with their captives to *Mount-Sorel*, and had that fortreſs 'ſurrendered to them [*l*].' But now, Sir, theſe authors have abſolutely a wrong conception of the matter, ſince *Mathew Paris*, who was living at the very time of the action [*m*], and with whom the late writers abovementioned cannot poſſibly ſtand in competition in regard to credit and authority, has informed us, that the lady *Nicholaa*, who, on account of the noble defence ſhe here made, may not improperly be compared with

[*g*] M. Paris, p. 293.

[*h*] Rather perhaps William, earl Ferrars; for ſee M. Paris, p. 292. 295.

[*i*] It was after Eaſter. M. Paris, p. 293.

[*k*] Annal. Dunſtap. p. 80. Ladies in theſe times often exerted themſelves in the martial line. Chron. Norm. p. 987. Ord. Vitalis, p. 920, and ſee Warton, Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry. I. p. 253.

[*l*] Walt. Hemingford, p. 558. H. Knighton, col. 2423.

[*m*] Mathew became a monk of St. Albans this very year. Tanner, Biblioth.

the

the famous counteſs of Derby [*n*], lady Arundel of Warder [*o*], and lady Banks [*p*], in later times, held the citadel for the king, in whoſe party the earls Cheſter, Albemarle, and Warwick were, and that the *barons* and the *French* were, on the other hand, the beſiegers [*q*]. Monſ. Rapin alſo appears to have had a juſt and clear idea of the buſineſs, and the method I ſhall purſue in the ſequel will be, firſt, to give you his general repreſentation of this conflict; and then to add ſome further illuſtrations on the ſubject, which in a memoir of this nature ought not to be omitted.

Monſ. Rapin writes thus. 'The caſtle of *Lincoln* was of ſo 'great importance, that the *Regent* (the earl of Pembroke) 'could not reſolve to loſe it, without uſing his utmoſt endea-'vours to relieve it. Whilſt the *French* were battering the caſ-'tle with all poſſible vigour, and the beſieged making as brave 'a defence, he aſſembled all his forces with a reſolution to 'run all hazards to ſave that place. He uſed ſuch expedition, 'that he advanced as far as *Newark*, within twelve miles (now 'ſeventeen or eighteen) of *Lincoln*, before the beſiegers were 'determined whether to expect him, or to march and give 'him battle. They had all along hoped to take the caſtle be-'fore he could draw his army together. Surprized at the ſud-'den approach of the enemy, the *French* general called a coun-'cil of war, to conſult what was to be done on this occaſion. 'Some were for meeting the enemy, becauſe if a victory for-'tunately enſued, the caſtle would immediately ſurrender; 'adding, that by going out of the city, they might uſe their 'cavalry, in which conſiſted their chiefeſt ſtrength, whereas

[*n*] Seacome's Hiſt. of the Houſe of Stanley, p. 86 ſeq.
[*o*] Mercurius Ruſticus, p. 41.
[*p*] Ibid. p. 98.
[*q*] M. Paris, p. 294. Dugd. Bar. I. p. 43.

'they

'they would be of no ſervice, if it was reſolved to meet the 'enemy within the walls. This advice was ſafeſt; but others 'were of a contrary opinion. They affirmed, as the caſtle was 'reduced to extremities, it was better to keep within the city 'and continue the ſiege; that it was eaſy to defend the walls, 'till the caſtle ſurrendered; after which the earl of *Pembroke* 'would only think of retreating, or however, might always be 'fought. This advice prevailed; all things were prepared for 'the defence of the city, whilſt the ſiege of the caſtle was con- 'tinued. Mean time, the *Engliſh* army approaching without 'oppoſition, the regent cauſed a body of choſen troops [*r*], com- 'manded by *Faulk de Brent* [*s*], to enter the caſtle at a poſtern 'gate [*t*], which opened into the fields [*u*]. It is ſtrange the 'beſiegers ſhould never think of that inconvenience. *Faulk* was 'no ſooner entered, but, purſuant to the meaſures taken with 'the regent, he ſallied out upon the beſiegers, whilſt the king's 'army ſtormed one of the gates of the city [*w*].

'The earl of *Perche* perceiving himſelf thus attacked from 'two different quarters, exerted his utmoſt in his defence. But 'his troops not having room to fight, and beſides, being de- 'prived of the aſſiſtance of his horſe, were quickly put in con- 'fuſion. On the other ſide, the royal army, encouraged by the 'preſence of the regent, and the indulgences liberally beſtowed 'by (Gualo) the legate upon all that ſhould be ſlain in the bat- 'tle, continued in a furious manner to ſtorm the gate. This

[*r*] They were Faulk's own brigade, with the croſs bowmen ſuperadded, S. P.

[*s*] This man, a ſoldier of fortune, had been a ſteady friend to king John. We have a large account of him in Dugd. Bar. I. p. 743 ſeq. and in Chauncy's Antiq. of Herts, p. 279. S. P.

[*t*] Of which the beſieged had ſent the earl of Pembroke notice. S. P.

[*u*] See Mr. King's Deſcription, p. 262, for this Poſtern.

[*w*] The North Gate called Newport Gate.

'aſſault

'aſſault was ſo vigorous, that, notwithſtanding the oppoſition 'of the *French*, the king's troops at length entered the city, 'whilſt *Faulk de Brent* preſſed the enemy on the other ſide; the 'earl of *Perche* perceiving all was loſt, reſolved not to ſurvive 'the ſhame of his defeat. He was ſlain upbraiding the *Engliſh* 'of his party, for betraying him by their counſels [*x*]. After 'the death of the general, a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the '*French* troops, who almoſt all periſhed on this occaſion. The 'city of *Lincoln*, which had all along ſided with the *barons*, 'was abandoned to a general plunder, where the ſoldiers found 'an ineſtimable booty, and therefore called it *Lincoln Fair* [*y*].'

Thus goes the conciſe narrative of Monſ. Rapin, and undoubtedly is as much as the general hiſtory of a country can reaſonably admit of: the circumſtances and incidents, which I wiſh to add, here 2dly follow:

This was a blow of the utmoſt importance, in regard to *Lewis* and his pretenſions, ſince after thus loſing the flower of his troops, at the city, and great numbers of his party being afterwards killed in their return to London, as will be mentioned below, he never could face his rival, young Henry, again in the field, but was compelled in prudence after ſome other loſſes and diſappointments to leave the kingdom, this very year [*z*].

The king's party, in their progreſs to Lincoln, rendevouzed at *Newark* on Monday in Whitſun-week [*a*], with white croſſes on their breaſts [*b*]. They ſtayed there three days, confeſſing themſelves and receiving the ſacrament; and there Gualo, the

[*x*] See Math. Paris's repreſentation of this incident below.
[*y*] Rapin, I. p. 298.
[*z*] End of Sept. or beginning of Oct.
[*a*] M. Paris, p. 295.
[*b*] Annal. Dunſtap. p. 80.

pope's

pope's legate abovenamed excommunicated the adherents of *Lewis*, the barons, and the whole city of Lincoln, pronouncing withal a plenary indulgence and a promiſe of life eternal to all the king's friends who ſhould perſonally engage in the conteſt. And as the king's army was fewer in number than that of Lewis, one of our Chronicles repreſents his victory as a miracle procured by this well-timed proceeding of the legate [*c*]. From Newark the royal army, conſiſting of four hundred knights, near upon two hundred and fifty croſs-bow men, and a large body of eſquires and horſemen, who upon occaſion could act the parts of knights, marched to *Stow*, about ten miles from Lincoln, and there halted all night. From *Stow* they decamped next morning in ſeven bodies, the croſs-bow men preceding at about a mile's diſtance, and the baggage, as alſo the proviſions, following behind, where no enemy was to be apprehended.

Faulk de Brent with his corps and croſs-bows galled the enemy for ſome time from the walls of the caſtle after he had entered it, before he ſallied out, and actually unhorſed many, both barons and knights. In the onſet, however, after he had iſſued out of the gate of the caſtle, he was taken priſoner, but was happily reſcued by the valour of his knights and bowmen.

The royaliſts, as was obſerved, had every man a white croſs on his breaſt [*d*], and the battle was fought 19 May, on Saturday in Whitſun-week, beginning at two o'clock [*e*], and ending at nine; ſo expeditious, ſays my author, were the merchants in tranſacting their buſineſs at this *fair* [*f*].

The barons and their party were worſted, and moſt of them made priſoners, before that irreſiſtible attack was made upon the

[*c*] Chron. Mailros, p. 195.

[*d*] V. ſupra, p. 7.

[*e*] As ſoon in the day as well could be, conſidering that the whole army with the baggage had moved from Stow that morning.

[*f*] Annal. Burton. p. 271. M. Paris, p. 297.

earl of *Perche* and the French, who, it ſeems, were lodged apart; and what aggravated the miſery of theſe foreigners was, that, when they began to fly, it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could get out of the South gate, the ſpring which aſſiſted in ſhutting the gate [*g*], being placed on the inſide of the gate to puſh it to, and to aſſiſt in barring it, ſo that every horſeman was forced to diſmount to open the gate, which cloſed immediately upon him. And afterwards, moſt of the foot that got out of the city were killed before they reached London [*h*].

It is ſaid, there was only one perſon miſſing on the king's part, a knight of William earl Ferrars [*i*]; but other authors relate, that *Reginald Croke*, or *Cooke* [*k*], a knight in the retinue of *Faulk de Brent* and a perſon of diſtinguiſhed valour, was killed in the battle, and buried honourably in the abbey of Cokeſden [*l*]. The earl of *Perche* fought to the laſt; declaring with an horrible oath, that he would not ſurrender to any *Engliſhman*, traytors as they all were to their king [*m*], and at the inſtant an obſcure perſon thruſt a ſpear through the vizor of his helmet into his brain; and he was buried, as a perſon excommunicate, in the orchard of the hoſpital without the city [*n*], probably that which was founded for lepers by *Remigius* firſt

[*g*] *Flagellum* portæ auſtralis *ex tranſverſo* fuerat fabricatum—quotieſcunque aliquis adveniens—oportebat eum ab equo deſcendere et portam aperire, quo exeunte porta ſtatim recludebatur, *flagello* prius poſito *ex tranſverſo*. Mat. Paris, p. 296. The term *flagellum* is not explained in Du Cange's Gloſſary, but in the ſupplement by Charpentier it is called "*Virga ferrea claudendis portis apta*," and an example given "ferrura nova cum cramponibus ad bendas *flagello* dictæ portæ appoſita cum clavi." Comput. MS. S. Vulfr. Abbavil. an° 1450.

[*h*] M. Paris, p. 296, 297.

[*i*] Annal. Burton, p. 271.

[*k*] M. Paris and Tho. Rudburn. Leland, in his Abſtracts of Rudburn, has *Coquers*.

[*l*] *Forte* Crokeſden, i. e. Croxden, co. Staff.

[*m*] M. Paris, p. 296.

[*n*] Leland, Collect. II. p. 423.

biſhop

biſhop of Lincoln [*o*]. A certain eſquire [*p*] on the barons' ſide was alſo ſlain in the action; it was not known who he was, but he being alſo anathematized was interred at a four-lane end without the city; and theſe three, or four at moſt, were all the perſons of any note that were miſſing after this memorable day; yet *Hemingford* has the confidence to aſſert, that ſome of the *barons* were ſlain.

As to the ſarcaſm thrown out by the haughty *French* count againſt his victors, it applies only to the *Engliſh* of his own party; and impreſſed with ſo bad and contemptuous an opinion of them as to regard them as ſo many traytors, why did he ſide with and abet them? 'Tis true, ſome of the nobles and knights in the king's bands had but lately returned to their allegiance, but they were nevertheleſs very ſtaunch in their duty to their ſovereign now, as they had amply demonſtrated by riſquing their lives in his quarrel: others, however, had never ſwerved from the line of fidelity. Certainly, it had been far more noble in the count, if, in the deſperate ſituation he was, he had enquired for the earl of Pembroke, or the earl of Cheſter, and delivered his ſword to one of them; imitating therein the example of our king *Stephen*, a man of equal valour with himſelf, who, reduced to the ſame unfortunate circumſtance, called out for the earl of Gloceſter, the general of the adverſe army, that he might ſurrender himſelf to him.

I return. The priſoners of rank and figure were, *Saer* earl of *Wincheſter*, Henry de Boum [*q*] earl of Hereford, Gilbert de Gant earl of Lincoln, commanders; and of the other barons, Robert Fitzwalter, Richard de Munfichet, William de Mum-

[*o*] Girald. in Wharton, A. S. p. 415. Tan. N. M. p. 256.

[*p*] *Serviens.*

[*q*] *Boun*, i. e. Bohun, Leland, Coll. II. p. 422.

brey [*r*], William de Beauchamp, William Maudut [*s*], Oliver de Harcourt, Roger de Creſſi, William de Colville, William de Ros, Robert de Ropeſle, Ralph Cheinduit, &c. [*t*]. There were alſo taken four hundred knights, beſides their attendants [*u*] horſe and foot, who could not eaſily be numbered. Many more priſoners might have been made, had the royaliſts been diſpoſed to labour that point; indeed, ſcarce one perſon could have eſcaped [*w*], had not the adverſary connived.

It appears from this detail, that the engagement, though ſo momentous and deciſive, was not at all bloody, except in regard to the French, who in fact ſuffered a terrible ſlaughter, the greateſt part of them being ſlain [*x*]; and therefore when the remnant of the Dauphine's knights, to the amount of two hundred, preſented themſelves to him at London, and brought him tidings of the defeat, he reproached them with cowardice, remarking with an acrimonious ſneer, that by their flight they had occaſioned the loſs of their fellow-ſoldiers, ſince had they done their duty as men profeſſing arms, perhaps both he and his friends might have eſcaped this diſaſter.

But though ſo little *Engliſh* blood was ſhed on either ſide in the engagement, the event proved extremely fatal to the city of Lincoln, which was pillaged to the laſt farthing. 'Capta igi-'tur Lincolnia *cum caſtro* ſpoliata eſt uſque ad ultimum qua-

[*r*] *Mowbray*. The name is often written, *Munbrai*, and *Mumbrai*.

[*s*] *Mauduit*, *Mandut*. Leland, Coll. II. p. 423. malè.

[*t*] M. Paris, p. 296. Leland, p. 422. ſeq.

[*u*] *Servientes*, which Sir Hen. Chauncy, p. 324, following Selden, Tit. of Hon. p. 831, renders *Eſquires*; but, as the retinue conſiſted of both horſe and foot, it is better to expreſs it by a more general word in this place.

[*w*] M. Paris, p. 296.

[*x*] Some of them, however, were taken priſoners; for Lewis afterwards complained, that they had been compelled to pay a heavy ranſom. M. Paris, p. 317. M. Weſtm. p. 282.

'drantem, eccleſiis totius urbis ad eundem modum multatis [*y*].' They are Leland's words, but what he means by *cum caſtro* I cannot divine, as the caſtle was in the king's hand before the battle, and M. Paris, whom he is here abridging, never names it on the occaſion [*z*].

The churches, wherein no doubt many valuable effects had been lodged as places of ſafety, were all plundered; and the cathedral, amongſt the reſt, was not ſpared; for the legate had given orders that the canons [*a*] ſhould be treated as perſons excommunicate, as enemies to the church of Rome and king Henry its vaſſal. 'One may gueſs, ſays the Annotator on 'Rapin, at the great riches of the cathedral which was pillaged, 'when Geoffrey de Deping [*b*], the precentor, complained that 'he had loſt eleven thouſand marks for his own ſhare [*c*].' Geoffrey, it is ſaid, was inconſolable for his loſs. Hemingford told us above, that *the ſoldiery made a ſtable at this time of the cathedral, filling it with horſes and beaſts*; and this I think may be true, though his paragraph be ſo pregnant with miſtakes in other reſpects, as *Walter de Wittleſey* ſeemingly confirms it. The words of this author are exceedingly remarkable, and afford us ſeveral curious particulars relative to our ſubject, could we but rely upon them. But whether the facts *Wittleſey* narrates be authentic, or not, it is incumbent on me to report them. He ſays, Lewis and his party made uſe of the cathedral as a garriſon or place of arms; that the earl of *Perche*

[*y*] Leland, Coll. II. p. 423. M. Paris, p. 297.

[*z*] Perhaps, the falſe notion of Hemingford and Knighton ran at this time in his head.

[*a*] The biſhop alſo Hugh de Wells was a delinquent, but was abroad at this time.

[*b*] *Drapinges*, M. Paris; *Depringes*, Leland, both wrong. Vide Br. Willis, Survey, II. p. 83.

[*c*] Leland, Coll. l. c.

placed

placed *Lewis* therein during the battle, and that the earl of *Cheſter* took him priſoner in it: and further, that he 'cauſed 'him to ſwear upon the Goſpel and the reliques of the ſaints 'then placed on the high altar, that he would never lay any 'claim to the kingdom of England, but ſpedily haſten out of 'the realm with all his followers; and that when he ſhould be 'king of France, he would reſtore *Normandy* to the crown of '*England*. Which being done, he ſent for young *Henry*, who 'during that interval lay privately in a cow-houſe belonging to 'Bardney Abbey [*d*] (near Lincoln towards the weſt [*e*]), and, 'ſetting him on the altar, delivered him ſeizin of this king-'dom as his inheritance by a white wand, inſtead of a ſcep-'tre [*f*], doing his homage to him, as did all the reſt of the 'nobility then preſent; for which ſignal ſervice, the king gave 'him the body of *Gilbert de Gant*, his enemy, with all his poſ-'ſeſſions: which Gilbert was a great baron, and founder of 'Vaudey abbey in Keſteven [*g*].' This earl of *Cheſter*, in regard to a taunt of the earl of *Perche*, who had called him a dwarf, ſwore to him, that 'before to-morrow evening, I will 'ſeem to thee to be ſtronger, and greater, and taller, than that 'ſteeple [*h*],' pointing to the ſteeple of the cathedral; which was very emphatical, as there was a ſpire then equal in height to the preſent tower which it ſtood upon, and perhaps the higheſt in *England* [*i*]. Some of theſe circumſtances related by

[*d*] Perhaps the Dairy mentioned by Leland, Itin. VII. p. 40.

[*e*] Rather, *towards the eaſt*.

[*f*] Quære, whether the ſcepter was not loſt with the crown by king John. Rapin, p. 296.

[*g*] Walt. Wittleſey in Dugd. Baron. I. p. 42. The abbey, however, was not founded by this perſon, but by his uncle. Tanner, Notit. p. 256. So that he can only be called *Founder* in a lax ſenſe.

[*h*] Ibidem.

[*i*] Willis, Survey of Cath. II. p. 64.

Wittleſey, I am of opinion cannot poſſibly be true; certainly, had the Dauphine been taken priſoner, an incident ſo very intereſting would have been mentioned by M. Paris, and the earlier authors, as well as by this Wittleſey and John Rous [*k*]; and a vaſt ranſom been paid for him, of which yet we hear nothing. In ſhort, we have no reaſon to believe, that either *Lewis* [*l*], or young king *Henry*, were then at Lincoln, and if not, all theſe fine ſtories, whoever forged them, muſt of neceſſity vaniſh into air. The cathedral, however, was probably at this time profaned, and a re-conſecration conſequently would be requiſite, and yet I have not met with any memorial of ſuch a ceremony.

The city was ravaged, and, according to Hemingford, many of the inhabitants carried away. The ſpoil taken was truly immenſe [*m*]; and, what added to the misfortune, ſeveral women were unhappily drowned: theſe females, to avoid the inſults of the victorious ſoldiery, and to ſave their effects, had recourſe to the boats with their children, maid ſervants, and all their valuables, but overloading the boats, and not knowing well how to manage and conduct them, many of the veſſels were caſt away. A great part of the plate, however, was afterwards recovered [*n*].

That great and wiſe and good man, the earl of Pembroke, did not ſtay to eat or refreſh himſelf after the battle, but returned to the king and the legate to inform them of his ſucceſs [*o*]. The priſoners, who, you would obſerve, Sir, were numerous, were

[*k*] Joh. Roſſus, p. 197.

[*l*] M. Paris obſerves, p. 297, that moſt of the foot, after they fled from Lincoln, were ſlain before they *reached Lewis*; and it appears, from the ſame paſſage, that Lewis was then at London. See note *o*.

[*m*] M. Paris, p. 296. ſeq.

[*n*] M. Paris, p. 297.

[*o*] Ibidem. The young king was probably left at *Newark*, or *Stow*; it is plain he was not at Lincoln, as Wittleſey pretends.

ordered

ordered to be ſtrictly kept, but all were ſet at liberty by the treaty of 11 September following, and Gilbert de Gant among the reſt, but deprived of his earldom.

This event gave birth to a new æra, in theſe parts at leaſt, ſince in an old regiſter an inſtrument is thus dated, 'Hæc autem 'conventio facta fuit die Margaretæ proximo *poſt magnam baro-* '*num captionem apud Lincoln*,' that is, 'This convention was 'made on St. Margaret's day (20 July) next after the great cap-'ture of the barons at Lincoln [*p*].'

To add a word, for a concluſion, on that martial lady, the lady Nicholaa de Hara, relict of Gerard lord Camvile. She was conſtituted ſheriffeſs of Lincolnſhire, 18 John, Philip de Marc being appointed her aſſiſtant. She held the ſame office 1 Hen. III. when Geffrey de Cerland became her ſubſtitute. 2 Henry III. ſhe was both ſheriffeſs, and governeſs of the city and caſtle of Lincoln; and for her ſupport in keeping the caſtles had the lordſhip of *Munden*, in Hertfordſhire, aſſigned to her, this being then in the king's hand by the death of Girard de Furnivall; and Faulk de Brent was the perſon who was to aid her in the defence thereof. She died 15 Hen. III. [*q*].

I am, Sir,
your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
SAMUEL PEGGE.

[*p*] From the information of my late friend, John Bradley, Eſq. of Lincoln.
[*q*] Dugd. Baron. I. p. 628.

XXI. *Some*

XXI. *Some Account of the* Brimham *Rocks in* Yorkſhire. *In a Letter to the Rev. Mr.* Norris, *Secretary.* *By* Hayman Rooke, *Eſq.*

Read May 25, 1786.

SIR,

THE ſucceſs I met with in diſcovering the Druidical monuments in Derbyſhire (which I had the honour to lay before the Society [*a*]), induced me to make an excurſion into Yorkſhire, to examine ſome curious groups of rocks, ſeven miles from Ripley, on the road to Pateley Bridge, called Brimham rocks. They are indeed a moſt wonderful aſſemblage, ſcattered about the moor in groupes, which all together occupy a ſpace of above forty acres. The extraordinary poſition of theſe rocks in a variety of directions muſt have been occaſioned by ſome violent convulſion of nature; but at the ſame time it is evident, that art has not been wanting to make their ſituations ſtill more wonderful.

The ancients of very remote antiquity have ſhewed a regard to fragments of rocks. The learned Mr. Bryant tells us, "that "the Egyptians looked upon theſe with a degree of veneration, "and ſome of them they kept as they found them with per- "haps only an hieroglyphic, others they ſhaped with tools, and "formed into various devices [*b*]:" Again he ſays, "it was "uſual with much labour to place one vaſt ſtone upon another

[*a*] See vol. VII. p. 175.
[*b*] Analyſis of Ant. Mythology, vol. III. p. 53.

" for a religious memorial: the ſtones, thus placed, they often-
" times poized ſo equally that they were affected with the leaſt
" external force, nay a breath of wind would ſometimes make
" them vibrate. We have many inſtances of this nature in our
" own country; and they are to be found in other parts of the
" world, and whenever they occur we may eſteem them of the
" higheſt antiquity [*c*]."

On this moor we find rocks placed one upon another; others that rock; and ſome have evidently the mark of the tool, but whether theſe are the works of the Druids or of a more remote age, I muſt leave to the learned Society to determine; but, if I might venture to form a conjecture on theſe very ancient cuſtoms, may we not ſuppoſe, that, as the Britons had early communications with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, their arts, and particularly their religious ceremonies, would be handed down to the time of our Druids, who would probably be, from political motives, not inclined to communicate their knowledge to the ignorant Britons, whom they were ſuppoſed to have governed with abſolute authority, and by their augury and divinations brought them to ſubmit patiently to their decrees, and to undertake the moſt arduous enterprize. In the more civilized ages of Chriſtianity, the heads of the Romiſh church have thought it neceſſary to keep the common people in ignorance: why then may we not ſuppoſe that the Druids had ſome knowledge of arts and ſciences, which from the ſame motive they kept to themſelves. Their not committing their myſteries of their order and diſcipline to writing is, I think, a circumſtance in favour of the above ſuppoſition. But to return to Brimham rocks.

In Pl. XVI. N° 1. (a) appears to have been a rock idol: the marks of the tool are viſible in many places, particularly on the

[*c*] Analyſis of Ant. Mythol. vol. III. p. 532.

baſe, where the ſide (b) has been cut ſquare; contiguous to it, is a rocking ſtone (c), which moves with great eaſe.

N° 2. is another view of the ſame rocking ſtone (c), which is in length eight feet, in breadth three feet.

N° 3. is a rocking ſtone, the bottom of which evidently appears to have been cut away to form two knobs, on which it reſts, and moves with great eaſe. It's length is eighteen feet, width four feet, height ſix feet.

N° 4. is a large maſs of rock, which doctor Borlaſe calls a Tolmen. A paſſage goes quite through it, big enough for a man to paſs; at each entrance there appears to have been a rock baſon three feet diameter, now almoſt worn level, but the circles are ſtill very viſible; at the foot of the paſſage is a little kind of platform (a), which plainly appears to have been worked with a tool; adjoining to this Tolmen is a rocking ſtone (b), in length ſix feet three inches, breadth four feet eight inches.

N° 5. is an extraordinary groupe of rocks, in which there ſeems to be a kind of uniformity preſerved. On the top are three rocking ſtones; the middle one (a) reſts upon a kind of pedeſtal, and is ſuppoſed to be about one hundred tuns weight; on each ſide at (b) and (c) is a ſmall one: on examining the ſtone (b) it appeared to have been ſhaped to a ſmall knob at the bottom to give it motion, though my guide, who was ſeventy years old, born on the moors, and well acquainted with theſe rocks, aſſured me that ſtone had never been known to rock: however, upon my making a trial round it, when I came to the middle of one ſide, I found it moved with great eaſe. The aſtoniſhing increaſe of the motion with the little force I gave it made me very apprehenſive the equilibrium might be deſtroyed; but on examining it, I found it was ſo nicely balanced, that there was no danger of its falling. The conſtruction of this equipoized ſtone muſt have been by artiſts well ſkilled in the powers of mecha-

nics. It is indeed the moſt extraordinary rocking ſtone I ever met with, and it is ſomewhat as extraordinary, that it never ſhould have been diſcovered before, and that it ſhould now move ſo eaſily, after ſo many ages of reſt.

N° 6. is a north view of a very ſingular rock in a wonderful poſition. It muſt undoubtedly have been a rock idol, or a ſtone conſecrated to ſome principal deity. It is forty-ſix feet in circumference, and ſeems to have been ſeparated from the adjoining rock. The pedeſtal it reſts upon is at the top only one foot by two feet ſeven inches. The marks of the tool are viſible in many places, particularly on the baſe (a) of the pedeſtal, which has been ſhaped into a polygon tending towards a hexagon, but part of the ſides has been defaced by time. The hazardous undertaking of ſhaping this rock and pedeſtal is, I think, another proof of the Druids having had ſome knowledge of mechaniſm. We are well aſſured that the ancients ſhaped rocks into various forms, for ſome myſtical purpoſe. Doctor Borlaſe tells us, "that the rocks in Cornwall have, in ſome inſtances, been "cleared of their wildeſt excreſcences by art, in others evi- "dently ſhaped and fitted by tools, and this could not be done "without ſome aim or deſign, and no deſign ſo likely as that "ſome by ſhewing themſelves to greater advantage (being ſe- "parated from the adjoining rocks), might by their vaſtneſs "more eaſily procure the adoration of the beholder, that others "by being ſhaped in a particular manner might be more ſignifi- "cant ſymbols of that deity, or attribute which they were de- "ſigned to repreſent [*d*]."

N° 7. repreſents an eaſt view of a very ſingular kind of monument, which I believe has never been taken notice of by any antiquary. I think I may call it an *oracular ſtone*, though it

[*d*] Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 172.

goes by the name of the *Great Cannon*. It reſts upon a bed of rock, where a road plainly appears to have been made leading to the hole (a), which at the entrance is three feet wide, ſix feet deep, and about three feet ſix inches high. Within this aperture on the right hand is a round hole, marked (b), two feet diameter, perforated quite through the rock, ſixteen feet, and running from ſouth to north. In the abovementioned aperture, a man might lay concealed, and predict future events to thoſe that came to conſult the oracle, and is heard diſtinctly on the north ſide of the rock, where the hole is not viſible. This might make the credulous Britons think the predictions proceeded ſolely from the rock deity. The voice on the outſide is as diſtinctly conveyed to the perſon in the aperture, as was ſeveral times tried. The circumference of this rock is ninety-ſix feet.

There is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that people in the dark ages of Druidiſm imagined that the rock idols had a power of articulation. "There is a remarkable ſtory in Giraldus Cambrenſis [*e*], "which ſhows that the common people in his days attributed "the power both of ſpeaking and protecting to theſe ſacred "rocks. There was a large flat ſtone ten feet long, ſix wide, "and one foot thick, which in his time ſerved as a bridge over "the river Alun, at St. David's, in Pembrokeſhire. It was "called in Britiſh *Leek Lavar*, that is, the *ſpeaking ſtone*, and "the vulgar tradition was, that when a dead body was, on a "time, carrying over, this ſtone ſpoke, and with the ſtruggle "of the voice cracked in the middle, and the chink, from "which the voice iſſued, was then to be ſeen. In this ſimple "ſtory the remains of that part of the Druid ſuperſtition, of "which we are treating, are clearly to be perceived [*f*]."

[*e*] Itinerar. Cambr. lib. ii. c. 1.

[*f*] Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 170.

Another

Another ancient monument of this kind of Druidical ſuperſtition is now to be ſeen in Weſtminſter; I mean the ſtone under the coronation chair, which was called by the ancient Iriſh *liag-fail*, or the *fatal ſtone*, on which "the kings of Ireland "uſed to be inaugurated in the times of Heatheniſm on the "hill of Tarah, which, being incloſed in a wooden chair, was "thought to emit a ſound under the rightful candidate (a thing "eaſily managed by the Druids), but to be mute under a man "of none or bad title, that is, one who was not for the turn of "thoſe prieſts. The Druidical oracle is in verſe, and in theſe "original words:

Cioniodh ſeuit ſuos an fine,
Man ba breag an Faiſdine,
Mas a bhfuighid an Lia-fail,
Dlighid flaitheas do gha bhail.

"The Lowland Scots have rhym'd it thus:

Except old ſaws do feign,
And wizards wits be blind,
The Scots in place muſt reign,
Where they this ſtone ſhall find [*g*]."

Hence it appears that the Druids had oracles, that they attributed the power of ſpeaking to their ſacred rocks. I therefore think I may venture to ſay, with ſome degree of probability, that theſe perforated rocks are Druidical oracles. There are others on this moor; one about a quarter of a mile S. W. of the above-mentioned ſtone, which the country people call the *Little Cannon*, the hole is one foot diameter, and goes quite through the rock eighteen feet.

About eighty yards S. W. of the oracular ſtone, or great cannon, is a large tumulus of earth and ſtones one hundred and fifty

[*g*] Toland, vol. I. 103.

feet

R. Rich del.

Brimham rocks.

feet in circumference: on the weſt ſide there ſeems to have been a little nitch and vallum, which probably incloſed the tumulus, and may have been deſtroyed for the repair of walls and roads, a thing which too frequently happens to theſe ancient monuments. About a quarter of a mile farther to the weſt is a Druid circle, with a vallum of earth and ſtones, thirty feet diameter. It is exactly of the ſame conſtruction as thoſe on Stanton Moor, in the Peak of Derbyſhire [*b*]. There are likewiſe ſeveral ſmall tumuli. Thirteen of them are ranged in a kind of circle, the largeſt not above eighteen feet diameter. They are formed of earth and large ſtones. Two of theſe I opened; towards the bottom, the effects of fire appeared on the ſtones, and aſhes were ſcattered about, but there were no urns to be found.

Here are ſeveral rocks that have paſſages cut through them. N° 8. is a S. W. view of a rock with an aperture three feet and a half wide, in which is a rock baſon three feet diameter.

N° 9. Pl. XVII. is an eaſt view of a rock, where art ſeems to have been aiding in the ſingularity of its poſition; a rock baſon appears at (a), and from the lips or channels on the ſides (for the water to run off), we may conclude there are more on the top; but that could not be examined from its elevated ſituation.

N° 10. is a weſt view of a rock, called by the country people *Noonſtone*, from its caſting a ſhadow on a cottage at 12 o'clock. On Midſummer Eve fires are lighted on the ſide (a). Its ſituation is appoſite for this purpoſe, being on the edge of a hill commanding an extenſive view. This cuſtom is of the moſt remote antiquity. The learned and ingenious Mr. Brand ſays, "the ori-
"gin of this fire, ſtill retained by ſo many nations, and which
"loſes itſelf in antiquity, is very ſimple. It was a feu de joie
"kindled the very moment the year began; for the firſt of all

[*b*] Archaeologia, vol. VI. p. 114.

"years,

" years, and the moſt antient that we know of, began at the " month of June; thence the very name of this month, *Junior*, " the *youngeſt which is renewed*; while that of the preceding " one is *Mag*, *major*, the *antient:* thus the one was the month " of the young people, the other that of the old [*i*]."

Toland tells us " that the Celtic nations kindled fires on Mid- " ſummer Eve, which are ſtill continued by the Roman Catho- " lics of Ireland making them in all their grounds, and carry- " ing flaming brands about their cornfields. This they do like- " wiſe all over France, and in ſome of the Scottiſh iſles. Theſe " Midſummer fires and ſacrifices were to obtain a bleſſing on " the fruits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; " as thoſe of the firſt of May, that they might proſperouſly " grow; and thoſe of the laſt of October were a thankſgiving " for finiſhing their harveſt [*k*]."

Hence we find, that this very ancient cuſtom of lighting fires at particular ſeaſons is handed down to the preſent time. " The " Druids had alſo their holy fires, to which the people were " obliged to come and carry off ſome portion (for which they " doubtleſs payed according to their abilities) to kindle the fire " in their own houſes [*l*]."

From what has been ſaid on this ancient cuſtom, I think we have reaſon to conclude, that theſe extraordinary rocks in this diſtrict, particularly where art appears to have had a hand in the formation, are monuments of the Druids.

N° 11. is a north view of a ſurpriſing aſſemblage of rocks, which cannot but attract the admiration of every one that ſee them. This ſeems to have been a choſen ſpot for their religious ceremonies: here we find rock idols, altars, circular holes evi-

[*i*] Obſervations on Popular Antiquities, chap. xxvii. p. 297.
[*k*] Toland, vol. I. p. 73.
[*l*] Borlaſe, Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 147.

dently

dently cut in the ſides of rocks, and paſſages between rocks, for ſome ſacred myſterious purpoſe. The rocks piled one upon another at (a) are in a very extraordinary poſition: (b) is a very ſingular figure cut in the ſolid rock in high relief; this poſſibly might have been emblematical of ſome principal deity, to whom theſe conſecrated ſtones were dedicated; (c) is a kind of cromlech or altar, where probably ſacrifices were offered up to the principal ſtone deity. The ſhort pillars that ſupport the cromlech have been formed with a tool; the ſtone (d) has a circular hole cut in its ſide, and ſeems to have been ſhaped by art. About a quarter of a mile S. W. of theſe rocks at (e) are ſeen three rock idols.

However fanciful conjectures may appear to be on monuments of remote antiquity, yet when we come to compare the accounts of learned authors on this ſubject with the ſcattered remains that are now left, there certainly will be ſome foundation for thoſe conjectures.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

H. ROOKE.

XXII. *Doubts and conjectures concerning the reaſon commonly aſſigned for inſerting or omitting the words* Eccleſia *and* Preſbyter *in* Domeſday Book. *By the Rev.* Samuel Denne. *In a Letter to the Rev. Mr.* Norris, *Secretary.*

Read June 1, 1786.

Dear Sir,

A NOTION ſeems generally to have prevailed, that where neither *Eccleſia* nor *Preſbyter* is entered in a clauſe of Domeſday Book, it may be inferred that at the time the ſurvey was made there was not a church in any of the diſtricts to which the clauſes refer. The late biſhop Lyttelton and doctor Naſh have countenanced this idea [*a*], and the ſilence of this venerable record is conſidered by Mr. Pegge as a formidable anſwer to the reaſons advanced by Mr. Brooke to ſhew, that the church of Aldbrough in Yorkſhire was a Saxon building [*b*].

To controvert an opinion that has the ſanction of three ſuch eminent antiquaries muſt be deemed ventrous in one who is placed in a very inferior claſs; and I ſhould have been diſcouraged from the attempt, had I not thought it likely, that this may be an hypotheſis rather taken for granted, than founded upon an accurate enquiry into its validity; and I ought to ob-

[*a*] Dr. Naſh's Collections for the Hiſtory of Worceſterſhire, v. I. 129, and v. II. Append. p. 15.

[*b*] Archaeologia, v. VII. art. ix. and v. VI. art. iii.

ſerve

ſerve Mr. Pegge's having only preſumed that all the churches then in England were recited in Domeſday.

Some doubts which I have entertained reſpecting this queſtion are tranſmitted to you in this paper, which I ſhall be obliged to you to communicate to the Society when moſt convenient. Our worthy old member, whilſt expreſſing a difference in opinion from Mr. Brooke, beſpoke, and was favoured with, the candid attention of that ingenious gentleman; and I am perſuaded that Mr. Pegge will not diſcommend my endeavours to aſcertain a matter on antiquity, in which we do not concur. Should the hints I have to offer induce him to give the ſubject a further inveſtigation, one of the views I have in propoſing them will certainly be gratified.

Biſhop Stillingfleet has remarked that few churches are ſaid to appear in Domeſday book [*c*]; and if an eſtimate may be formed from the want of churches in ſeveral diſtricts deſcribed in the extracts I have had an opportunity of examining, I am apt to believe that the whole number recorded will fall conſiderably under what there are grounds for concluding they muſt have amounted to about the Conqueſt.

Not one of the entries in Domeſday concerning Burceſter and the four adjacent pariſhes printed in biſhop Kennet's Parochial Antiquities (p. 65 and 66) mention either church or prieſt, and of the nineteen inſerted in Dugdale's Hiſtory of St. Paul's Cathedral, (Append. p. 191, &c.) *Preſbyter* is to be found in only Sandon and Naſtoke.

Eccleſia is the word uſed in the Survey of Kent, and though it very often occurs, there are many places where it does not, and ſome of them ſituated not far from London. It is not to be met with in the following pariſhes of which Haſted has

[*c*] Eccleſiaſtical Caſes, v. I. p. 91.

given an account in the firſt volume of his hiſtory. Lewiſham, Lee, Charlton, Woolwich, Beckenham, Bromley, Weſt Wickham, Keſton, Chelsfield, Eltham, Foots Cray, North Cray, Rokeſley, Plumſted, Erith, Swanſcombe, Longfield, Aſh, Darenth, Farningham, Lullingſtone, Shorham, Otford, Sevenoake, Weſterham, Cowling. In the ſecond volume no church is mentioned to be at Aylesford, a large manor in the king's demeſne, or at Boxley, another large diſtrict contiguous to Pinnenden Heath, where all public meetings for the buſineſs of the county have been held from the conqueſt and probably before. Nor do any occur at Eaſt Barming, Weſt Barming, Offam, Weſt Peckham, Teſton, Hunton, Hollingbourne, Lenham, Bromfield, Otterden, Newington, Tunſtall, Luddenham, Stone, Leveland, or Faverſham.

A map of the county will ſhew what ſpacious tracts muſt have been without a church upon the notion hitherto conceived. Domeſday Book itſelf likewiſe evinces that ſeveral of theſe diſtricts had many inhabitants, and from the value ſet upon the lands it ſhould ſeem that they were well cultivated. I will inſtance in Otford, eſtimated at upwards of eighty-two pounds a year [*d*], and I name Otford, becauſe that manor, to which Sevenoake was always an appendage, had been poſſeſſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury for three centuries. Is it then at all probable, that the prelates of that ſee ſhould ſuffer their numerous tenants and dependants to be without a place of public worſhip? And it ſhould be added, that at the time of making the ſurvey, Lanfranc had been archbiſhop fourteen or fifteen years.

According to Mr. Brydges's tranſlation of his Extracts from the Domeſday of Northamptonſhire, the deficiency of churches muſt have been much greater in that county than in Kent.

[*d*] Robert Latin held Boxley to farm of Odo biſhop of Bayeux, and paid 55l. a year for it.

The

The firſt volume of his hiſtory contains accounts of ten of the hundreds. In theſe are one hundred and thirty-nine parochial diſtricts, in which are entries from Domeſday Book, and I think not more than thirty-ſeven of them mention a prieſt. Still more inconſiderable, upon this ſuppoſition, were the churches in Dorſetſhire; for though it now contains two hundred and fifty pariſhes, yet, on a curſory peruſal of its Domeſday ſurvey prefixed to Mr. Hutchins's Hiſtory, I have traced only ten churches [*e*]. This paucity in the above cited counties will ſurely warrant a ſuſpicion that the returns under this article could not be exact, and may not the inaccuracy be attributed either to an overſight, or a deſigned omiſſion in the perſons appointed to make the inquiſition, or to a want of correctneſs in their ſcribes?

Weight will be added to this ſuggeſtion from my being able to point out ſome places, one in Kent and the reſt in Northamptonſhire, in which it may be proved, I apprehend by unexceptionable evidence, that there were churches about the time of the ſurvey, though Domeſday leaves us in the dark as to this particular. Faverſham is the church in Kent to which I allude, which, as is clear from Thorne's Chronicle [*f*], the firſt William gave in 1070 to the abbey of St. Auguſtin, with all the tenths and products accruing from that manor. There is alſo in Sprott's Fragments as publiſhed by Hearne, (p. 133), a reference to a bull of Urban III. dated in 1085, which reſtrains the monks of that abbey from granting to any ſecular the church of

[*e*] Viz. Bridetone (now Long Burton)—Brideport—Witcerce (now Whitchurch Canonicorum)—Warham—S. Marie de Gelingham—Dorceſtre (Dorcheſter)—Bere (Bere Regis)—Winfrode (Winfrith Newburgh)—Pitretone—Calvedone, Tit. xviii. p. 9. It is ſaid "Eccl'ia S'ti Wandregiſili ten' *unam eccl'am* "de Rege in Warham." Does not this imply there being at that time more than *one church* in Warham; but I believe no other is mentioned.

[*f*] X Script. col. 1780 and 2091.

Faverſham,

Faverſham, and four other churches there named. And if Mr. Brydges's tranſcripts may be depended on, Domeſday is ſilent as to ſeveral churches, which are ſaid by him to have been appropriated or given to religious houſes *very early after the conqueſt*, viz. Charwelton [*g*], Eydon Newbottle [*h*], Grafton [*i*], Hardingſtone [*k*], Moulton [*l*], Byfield [*m*], and Merſton St. Laurence [*n*]. The two laſt were given to the abbey of St. Ebrulf at Utica in Normandy, and the grants confirmed by the Conqueror in the fifteenth year of his reign, A. D. 1081. between which year and the time of making the ſurvey, it is barely probable that theſe churches ſhould have been deſtroyed.

From accounts imperfect and obſcure it is not practicable to fix exactly the number of churches at that time in England. Several of our hiſtorians have mentioned, and with but little variation, the bountiful alms given to every church by William Rufus in purſuance of the will of his father. According to Ingulphus, the king diſtributed ten marks to each of the greater churches, five to the leſſer, and five ſhillings to every country church [*o*]. Were the ſum total of this donation upon record, the

[*g*] Brydges's Northamptonſhire, I. p. 39.
[*h*] Ibid. p. 188.
[*i*] Ibid. p. 301.
[*k*] Ibid. p. 359.
[*l*] Ibid. p. 419.
[*m*] Ibid. p. 109.
[*n*] Ibid. p. 182.

[*o*] The paſſage in Ingulphus (p. 106, ſub anno 1087) as quoted by lord Lyttelton in his Hiſtory of Henry II. vol. I. p. 412. 8° edit. is as follows: "Diſtribuitque juxta voluntatem patris ſui majoribus eccleſiis totius Angliæ "x marcas, minoribus *x* ſingulis vero villanis eccleſiis v ſolidos."

Simeon Dunelmenſis's account is "Theſauros ſui patris, ut ipſe jufſerat, per Angliam divifit, ſcilicet *quibuſdam principalibus* eccleſiis, *quibuſdam* vi marcas auri, *quibuſdam minus*, eccleſiis etiam *in civitatibus* vel *villis*, per ſingulas denarios

the number of churches might be very nearly aſcertained from it. Mr. Innett ſays they are reckoned to be about four thouſand [*p*]. They are ſet, as I underſtand, in Mr. Selden's Titles of Honour, at four thouſand five hundred and eleven, but upon what grounds I am not apprized: and in Spelman's Gloſſary (v. Fœdum) it is advanced upon the authority of Sprott's Chronicle, that, by the Domeſday ſurvey, there were found to be forty-five thouſand pariſh churches. The figures uſed by Sir Henry Spelman nearly correſpond with the numeral letters in the paſſage of the monkiſh writer which he has quoted [*q*], but the number is ſo high as to exceed credibility; and indeed the words *quotque eccleſiarum dignitates et de ſumma eccleſiarum* could never mean pariſh churches, they muſt denote the poſſeſſions of the ſuperior orders of eccleſiaſtics, ſecular and regular; or as the Saxon Chronicle publiſhed by biſhop Gibſon expreſſes it, "permiſit deſcribi quantum terrarum ejus archiepiſcopi, et "dioceſani epiſcopi, ac ejus abbates, ejuſque comites [*r*]."

The fourfold diſtinction of churches ſpecified in the third law of Canute, A. D. 1033 [*s*], inclines one to imagine that in his time all theſe ſacred edifices might together amount to a large number; and it is manifeſt, that in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, there muſt have been a very great increaſe of what were ſtrictly denominated pariſh churches, it being aſſerted in one of the laws aſcribed to that king, that in many places

rios LX." X Script. col. 214. Diceto, ibid. c. 488. Bromton, Chron. ibid. c. 983. and Hoveden Ann. p. 264, ſeem to have copied from Simeon of Durham.

[*p*] Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. p. 279.

[*q*] "Iſte (Willelmus) fecit totam Angliam deſcribi, quantum terræ quis "baronum poſſedit—*quotque eccleſiarum dignitates.*—Et repertum fuit primo "ſumma eccleſiarum XLV M XI." Tho. Sprot. Chron. edit. Hearne, p. 114.

[*r*] P. 186.

[*s*] Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Britan. vol. I. p. 300.

there were three or four churches where in former times there was but one [*t*]. And if, as is commonly reported, thirty-ſix churches were deſtroyed by the Conqueror in order to enlarge the new foreſts in Hampſhire, this is an argument they could not be ſo few as the number entered in Domeſday is ſurmized to imply.

Biſhop Stillingfleet mentions his having found, by the confirmation of Simon biſhop of Worceſter, one church erected in the reign of Henry the Firſt, where before had been only a chapel; and he doubts not that many other parochial churches were built and endowed in the ſame manner although the records of them are loſt [*u*]. The concluſion which I draw from not meeting with more deeds of this kind after the conqueſt is, that, comparatively ſpeaking, there were but few pariſh churches which had not been ſettled in the times of the Saxons: and it is obſervable that though the biſhop had diſcovered only one act of confirmation, there are at preſent in the two deanries of the dioceſe of Worceſter to which he refers forty more pariſh churches that what are entered in Domeſday [*v*].

Chapter XXIII of the Textus Roffenſis corroborates my inference. This valuable MS. is generally allowed to have been compiled by biſhop Ernulf between the years 1115 and 1124, and the chapter which I have quoted contains an account of the money that was to be paid to Rocheſter cathedral for the chriſm by every pariſh church and chapel in the dioceſe [*w*]. But of thirty-three churches in that dioceſe, which, as before ſtated, do not occur in the Domeſday book, all except three, are rated in the

[*t*] Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Britan. vol. I. p. 311.

[*u*] Eccleſ. Caſes, vol. I. Pref. p. 12.

[*v*] According to the biſhop, in the deanry of Warwick 10, of Kington 15 churches are noticed in Domeſday. According to Ecton' Liber valor. there are now in the former dioceſe 29, and in the latter 36.

[*w*] The chriſm money was granted by Ernulf to the monks of his priory of St. Andrew. Regiſtrum Roff.

Textus

Textus as ſubject to the ſum payable for a pariſh church, which was nine pence, ſix pence only being due from a chapel. Now it appears rather ſtrange, that ſo many churches ſhould have been made parochial within about forty years, and that no acts concerning their eſtabliſhment ſhould be remaining in the regiſters of the dioceſe of Rocheſter: and conſidering the limited extent of its juriſdiction, the inſtruments are, I believe, as copious, and as well preſerved as thoſe in the archives of any other dioceſe in England.

In ſome diſtricts in Worceſterſhire where Domeſday is ſilent reſpecting either church or prieſt, biſhop Lyttelton found by other MSS. that there really was a church, and he ſuppoſes the omiſſion to have proceeded from the places then having only a chapel dependent upon the mother church [*x*]. Preſuming however *eccleſia* and *preſbyter* to have been uſed by the compilers of this ſurvey as ſynonymous terms, there are, I apprehend, clauſes where a prieſt is entered both for the pariſh church, and for what might have been a ſubordinate chapel, the lands in which the chapel was ſituated having been held under the lord of the chief manor. Of this kind was *Cliſton* which contained the manors of Clifton, Home, and *Sapy Pitchard*. But in *Cliſton* were ſix villans, four borderers, and four herdſmen, who among them all, together with the *prieſt* had ſix carucates; and in *Sapy Pitchard* was *a prieſt* and nine villans, and four borderers with eleven carucates [*y*]. Mr. Pegge coincides in this opinion with the biſhop; for he thinks, that the fabric in Kirkdale could not be expected to appear in Domeſday Book, as it was only a chapel of eaſe [*z*].

[*x*] Dr. Naſh's Collections, vol. I. p. 474. vol. II. p. 593. and Appendix, p. 11.

[*y*] Ibid. vol. I. p. 245.

[*z*] Archaeologia, vol. VII. p. 87.

Except in Martin's Hiſtory of Thetford, *capella* has not, as far as I can recollect, occurred to me in any tranſcript from Domeſday Book, but I have met with *eccleſiola* which may be thought a word of the ſame ſignification. Thus in the deſcription of Dartford are entered the church of the manor and three *eccleſiolae* [*a*]. The abbey of Hortune in Dorſetſhire is ſaid to have had an *eccleſiola* in Winborne [*b*], and Abbots Waltham or White Waltham in Berks is ſo denominated [*c*]. We alſo in ſome clauſes of Domeſday read of the half and the third of a church [*d*]. Do not theſe expreſſions rather imply, that it was not the kind of edifice, whether a great church, or a little church, a pariſh church or a chapel, but ſome of their appurtenances that the commiſſioners principally regarded [*e*].

If, at the time of the ſurvey, a church had been appendant to a manor [*f*], there can hardly be a doubt but it would be recorded; and perhaps this was all that was meant in moſt clauſes by the

[*a*] Mr. Haſted's Kent, vol. I. p. 210.

[*b*] Mr. Hutchins's Dorſetſhire, Domeſday, p. 9. *Eccleſiola* does not occur in the Gloſſary of Spelman, or of Dufreſne.

[*c*] Leland's Itin. vol. V. p. 122. Ethelwold is ſaid to have built *lapideam eccleſiolam* in Thornenſi loco. Leland's Itin. vol. VII. p. ii. p. 68. Ex vita Sti. Botolphi.

[*d*] See Authorities, p. 234.

[*e*] Will not this obſervation be applicable in a degree to caſtles, I mean to the fabrics of them? In the Annals of Waverly (Webb's Memoir, p. 5,) it is obſerved that an enquiry was to be made "quid una quæque urbs, caſtellum, "vicus &c. reddit per ann." Caſtles are, however, ſeldom recited, and that rather incidentally. Thoſe at Canterbury and Rocheſter ſeem to have been only mentioned, becauſe for the former the king had given twenty-one burgeſſes to the archbiſhop and the abbot of St. Auguſtine, and becauſe the biſhop of Rocheſter held lands in Aylesford in exchange for the ground upon which the latter caſtle was built. It is alſo recited in the Domeſday of Dorſetſhire what the king gave for a hide of land of the manor of Chingſtone, on which he built Warham Caſtle. Tit. 19.

[*f*] See Authorities at p. 234.

return

return *ibi eccleſia:* or if the church was not ſo cloſely annexed, and the prieſt only held lands that were dependant upon the manor, this circumſtance would certainly not paſs unnoticed [*g*]; an accurate ſurvey of all the lands in England, the quantity held by every perſon, the tenure and the value of the lands, and the rate at which they had been aſſeſſed to the crown being the chief objects of inquiſition. Accordingly we find in many clauſes the number of acres which the church or prieſt held is ſpecified, as is alſo the yearly value of them [*b*]. Some inſtances ſhall be ſubjoined, and thoſe in Eſſex and Norfolk are the ſtronger in point, becauſe they are from the leſſer Domeſday Book, which contains the original returns from thoſe counties; whereas the officers of the Exchequer are ſaid to have compiled the greater book with more brevity, leaving out ſome, and abridging other articles of the ſurvey [*i*].

Kirkdale, at the time of the ſurvey not being properly a church, i. e. a rectory endowed with tithes, will, as Mr. Pegge conceives, account for the ſilence of Domeſday concerning it. But is it quite clear, that the commiſſioners were directed to enquire after the tithes accruing to the parochial clergy? This is not an article mentioned in the title to the copy of the Inquiſition for part of Cambridgeſhire and the Iſle of Ely, printed in Mr. Webb's Memoir on Domeſday Book, p. 9; nor is it noticed in any of the records and hiſtories to which he has referred. As it was the intention of the Conqueror to reduce the lands as well of the clergy and religious, as of the laity to the common tenure of military ſervice, he would of courſe enjoin a return of this part of the endowment of the parochial clergy; but, as I apprehend, this ſervice did not reach, and was not deſigned to

[*g*] See Authorities at p. 235.
[*b*] See ditto, p. 235.
[*i*] Lord Lyttleton's Hiſtory of Henry II. vol. III. p. 239. 8°. edit.

extend to their tithes and oblations. It is certain, that we ſeldom find any entries of theſe articles of their revenue, nor do I remember to have met with an inſtance of their being eſtimated, at leaſt ſeparately [*k*].

The church of Aldbrough not now preſenting, as Mr. Pegge ſuppoſes, any reſemblance of Saxon architecture, is offered by him as a ſecond formidable objection againſt its having been erected before the Norman conqueſt. This objection ſeems to admit that the ſilence of Domeſday Book would not be judged deciſive by him, had the ſtructure itſelf diſcovered traces of a former age; a conceſſion which biſhop Lyttelton would not have made. For though he had obſerved what are uſually termed characteriſtics of the Saxon ſtyle in the churches of ſeveral pariſhes, not mentioned in Domeſday to have a prieſt in them, yet from their wanting this criterion he would not venture to affirm they were Saxon edifices [*l*].

But if, as already hinted, it was the landed property of the clergy that was the object principally in view, we need not be ſurprized that thoſe churches and their incumbents ſhould be omitted which did not poſſeſs any quantity of glebe. Or if, as a matter of private obſervation, churches without any land annexed to them might be often minuted in the return, others might be frequently left out as being thought of no conſequence in the enquiry. Where a church is recorded, this will be admitted to be ſufficient evidence of there having then been one; but when *preſbyter* only occurs, I much queſtion whether the

[*k*] *Decimæ*, I have a notion, may not occur above once in the Domeſday of Dorſetſhire, and that in the firſt paragraph of Tit. 24. which is as follows: "Briſtuard p'b'r ten' æccl'am de Dorceſtre 7 Bere, 7 decimas ibi p'tin' 1. hida "7 xx ac' t'ræ valent iiii. lib." Whether the tithes of theſe churches are reckoned in this valuation is rather doubtful.

[*l*] Dr. Naſh's Worceſterſhire, ubi ſup.

ſame

ſame inference can be always juſtly drawn; becauſe the lands of both beneficed and unbeneficed clerks were open to this inquiſition: and it may be ſhewn in ſundry paragraphs that clergymen held houſes and lands in their own right, and not in that of their preferments [*m*]. And after making the neceſſary deductions for ſuch as were unbeneficed, the churches recited in Domeſday will fall ſtill more under the number I conclude them to have really been during the eleventh century.

Some have imagined, that almoſt all the churches built before the reign of Edward the Confeſſor were entirely deſtroyed by the Danes in their frequent incurſions, and the more credit may have been given to this notion, from its being preſumed that there were few churches in that age but what were conſtructed with wood. A paſſage in Mr. Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury [*n*], ſpread and ſtrengthened this opinion, as it alſo depreciated the ſkill of the Saxons in architecture, by ſuggeſting, that the building upon arches was unknown to them. Both theſe conjectures are now generally agreed to be groundleſs; and many ſtone remains of Saxon churches, ſome of them large and firm, have been clearly indicated, and the reſearches of future antiquaries will I doubt not diſcover many more.

With regard to the damages which country churches might ſuffer from the devaſtation of the Danes, they have probably been magnified. In the expedition of Swane againſt the Southern Mercians, A. D. 1013, his order to his troops was, that they ſhould deſtroy whatever they found in the fields, *burn* the villages, and *plunder* the *churches*; an unequivocal proof of its not being the deliberate intention of this ſavage prince to demoliſh the country churches [*o*]. And one of the laws of his ſon

[*m*] Some are cited in p. 237.
[*n*] Edit. by Battely, p. 86. 163.
[*o*] Sim. Dunelm. X Script. col. 169. Hoveden, p. 248.

Canute

Canute implies, that though they might be ruinous, as many of them doubtleſs were, they were not irreparable, it being declared to be the duty of all the people to repair their churches [*p*].

But where the fury of the Danes raged ſo far as to ſet churches on fire, which it certainly did at Chriſt Church, Canterbury, and at Minſtre Abbey in the Iſle of Thanet, ſtone, as Mr. Goſtling has remarked, was incombuſtible; and upon this circumſtance he founds a conjecture by no means improbable, that there are walls now ſtanding which eſcaped the flames, and were made uſe of by archbiſhop Lanfranc in repairing Canterbury cathedral [*q*]. Mr. Lewis has made the ſame obſervation reſpecting the old abbey church at Minſtre, that was burnt by Swane. "The ſtone work, he ſays, of the two chapels of St. "Mary and St. Peter was preſerved, and not burnt with the "roof. And the former of theſe has been conſiderably enlarged "and made the pariſh church. The pillars are thick and ſhort, "and the arches all circular, and a low roof was upon them "according to the plainneſs and ſimplicity of thoſe times [*r*]." The very many churches which were unqueſtionably built in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, could however hardly have become dilapidated when the Domeſday ſurvey was taken.

Aldbrough church built by Ulf muſt be ranked in this claſs, it being admitted that he lived in that reign, and I do not perceive any objection made by Mr. Pegge to the authenticity of the Saxon inſcription. Beſides, notwithſtanding the alterations which the fabric has undergone, it is not without a veſtige of a Saxon edifice. The pillars are of a form correſponding with that uſed by the Saxons, and though we meet with ſimilar ones

[*p*] Johnſon's Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws MXVIII. 29.
[*q*] Walk in and about Canterbury, p. 73. &c.
[*r*] Lewis's Hiſtory of the Iſle of Thanet, p. 92.

in

in cathedrals and caſtles raiſed by the early Normans, I am not for appropriating thoſe in Aldbrough church to a Norman, in preference to a Saxon architect, upon no better authority than the ſilence of Domeſday Book; from which, as being an argument entirely negative, no direct concluſion can be drawn. Cathedrals and caſtles are mentioned, becauſe I have my doubts whether pillars like thoſe repreſented in the plate of Aldbrough church publiſhed with Mr. Brooke's paper, can be found in any country church that can be ſhewn to have been wholly built after the Conqueſt. Indeed between that æra and the death of the firſt William, it ſeems highly probable that very few churches of that kind were erected. In the Domeſday tranſcripts I have peruſed I find but one noticed, which was at Bermondſey in Surrey, and this on account of its rarity might excite the attention of the commiſſioners [*s*].

According to the Domeſday of Kent, Darenth, as above remarked, had not then a church within its manerial diſtrict [*t*], and unfortunately it is out of my power to prove either by a Saxon inſcription on ſtone, or by any written evidence, that one was really conſtructed there before the Conqueſt. I cannot, however, avoid a biaſs to that opinion, when aſſured by competent judges, that my church ſtill exhibits ſtrong reſemblances of the architecture of an earlier period. In the lower part of the chancel are pillars, round, maſſive and ſhort with hatched capitals; and the upper part, to which there is an aſcent by three ſteps, bears more ſtriking marks of antiquity. The area of it

[*s*] Eccleſia *de novo conſtructa*. Dr. Naſh's Worceſterſhire, vol. I. p. 503. Probably the church began A. 1092 by Aylwin Child a citizen of London, for the convent of Cluniacs he intended to ſettle at that place. Tanner, Notit. Monaſt. p. 535.

[*t*] Duke Eadulf, A. 940, gave Darenth to Chriſt Church Canterbury, and it was held by archbiſhop Lanfranc at the time of the Domeſday ſurvey.

is only twelve feet in length, and in breadth thirteen feet and two inches. It has a vaulted ſtone roof twelve feet high to the crown of the arches; at the eaſt end are three very ſmall and narrow lancet windows, and there is one window of that ſort in the north wall. I have not heard of a chancel of a like conſtruction in any pariſh church in this county, but am informed by Mr. Gough that the chancel of Compton church near Godelming in Surrey is conſtructed in the ſame manner.

There is alſo a font, which, from its appearance, was probably coeval with the firſt church erected here, and it is nearly of the ſame dimenſions [*u*] with that deſcribed by Mr. Warton in his ſpecimen of a parochial Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire (p. 16,) and which ſome have ſuppoſed to be the font uſed at the baptiſm of Edward the Confeſſor. But the font at Darenth is more embelliſhed, having on it repreſentations of men and beaſts, and emblematical figures in high relief, rudely carved, though the columns and arches of the eight compartments in which the ornaments are placed are executed with a degree of elegance. Theſe curious memorials of antiquity, the upper chancel and the font, are in good preſervation, and accurate delineations of them have been taken, and engravings made at the expence of my worthy friend and neighbour Mr. Thorpe; which, together with plates of ſeveral other eccleſiaſtical reliques ſtill extant in the dioceſe of Rocheſter, he propoſes to inſert in a ſupplement to his Regiſtrum Roffenſe that is in the preſs.

Whilſt endeavouring to ſhew that Domeſday Book, however accurate it may be in other articles, cannot be deciſively appealed to for the non-exiſtence of pariſh churches in the age in which it was compiled, I am apprehenſive I may have too freely treſ-

[*u*] The interior diameter of the baſon is 29 inches, its rim 3 inches, and the depth of it 17. By Mr. Warton's account the interior diameter of the Iſlip font is 30 inches, and the depth of it 20.

paſſed

paſſed upon the indulgence of the reſpectable aſſembly to whoſe judgment this letter is to be ſubmitted. The length of my paper has, however, proceeded from an unwillingneſs to have it thought, that without enquiry and without deliberation I had taken the liberty to diſſent from a common opinion ſupported by very able advocates; and I truſt that the ſubject diſcuſſed will not appear to be quite unimportant.

The whole of Domeſday ſurvey being now publiſhed (an event which was for many years the earneſt wiſh of the Society), it muſt of courſe be more generally conſulted. The neceſſity therefore is increaſed for having, if poſſible, all the terms uſed in it ſatisfactorily explained, and for rectifying any erroneous notions which may have been adopted relative to its various contents. It muſt likewiſe be admitted, that many a fruitleſs ſearch will be avoided, ſhould it be aſcertained what information is likely to be procured, and what is not to be expected from the peruſal of this curious record.

I am, dear Sir,

your faithful

and obliged ſervant,

SAMUEL DENNE.

Authorities from Domeſday Book referred to in this Paper.

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Norfolk—In Tetford—Abbas de Eli III eccłas et I domũ libẽ et II manſuras in conſuetudine, in una e domus. Et Epc XX domos lib' et I mol' et *dim' eccl'am.* Martin's Hiſt. of Thetford, p. 27.

———— Blungeham. Sub ſe I æccłia de X ac' val' XX đ. Ib. Append. p. 22. *dim' eccl'ia* XV ac' val' XV đ. Ib. p. 23.—Hilderſton tc̃ia pars eccłe. Ib. p. 10.

Northlangole (Langley.) In ead' p̃br integer et II dimid' tenent C. acr' liẽ terre et jacent in eccłia Sc̃e Andree. Ibid. p. 16.

Kent—Ore—dimid' æccła. Mr. Haſted's Hiſt. v. II. p. 730.

P. 226. 227.

Norfolk—Elmeham (now Elmham) I eccła eſt manerio de LX acr' et I car' et val' V ſol. et IIII đ. Martin's Hiſt. Append. p. 8.

———— Blungeham—ſub ſe I æccłia.

Hildolfeſtuam (Hilderſton) I eccłia in manerio de XXVI ac' et val' XX đ.—et tc̃ia pars eccłie in berevvita de II acr' et dimid' et val' IIII đ. Ib. p. 10.

———— Beccheham (E. Beckham) I æccłia de II acr' et dimid' et ẽ addita ƀuita ad Blikelinges. Ib. p. 21.

———— Helincham (Elingham) I eccleſia XX acr'.—The rectory manor always belonged to the rectors, for in the Conqueror's ſurvey it appears that there were then divers lands and ſervices belonging to the church. Blomefield's Hiſtory of Norfolk, p. 321. 330.

Kent—Middletune (now Milton) æccłas et decimas huj' mã ten' Abb' S. Auguſtini et 40. ſol. de 4. ſulins regis exeunt ei°, i. e. the abbat of St. Auguſtine holds the churches and tithes of this manor, and 40 ſhillings of the king's 4 ſulings are payable to him. Haſted's Hiſt. v. II. p. 619. Mem. The names of the churches are not mentioned, nor are the number of them ſpecified.

Kent

Kent—Tarentefort (now Dartford). Rex Willelmus ten' Tarentefort. Æccłam huj' m' ten' eps de Rouſceſtre, et val' 60 ſol. extra hanc ſunt adhuc ibi 3 æccleſiolæ. The biſhop of Rocheſter holds the church of this manor, and it is worth 60 ſhillings. Haſted's Hiſt. v. I. p. 203. At p. 229 Mr. Haſted has given an account of the manor of Dartford rectory. Mem. There is now a manor called the Biſhop's Liberty, which belongs to the ſee of Rocheſter, whoſe prelates are impropriators and patrons of the vicarage.

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—— Ceteham (now Chatham). In dnio ſunt 3 car' et 33 villī cū 4. bord' hnt' 10. car'. Ibi æccła et 15. ſervī et 1 molin' de 32. denar' et 20 ac' p̄ti et piſcariæ 6 de 12 den'. Haſted. II. p. 65.

—— Gelingchā (Gillingham). In dnio ſunt 2 car' et 42 villī cū 16. bord' hnt' 15 car'. Ibi æccła et 3 ſervi et 3 piſcariæ de 42 ſol. et 9 den' et 1 molin' de 16 ſolid' et 8 den' et 14 ac' p̄ti. P. 80.

—— Edingtune (Addington). In dnio ſunt 2 car' et 6 villī cū 9 bord' hnt 1 car' ibi æccła et 2 molin' de 11 ſolid' et 2 den' et 12 ac' pti. Ibid. p. 226.

Mem. In the Domeſday of Kent the entries are almoſt conſtantly as above cited, i. e. after recording the land in demeſne, the number of carucates are mentioned which were held by the villeins and borderers; then follow the church and number of ſervants, and the mills and fiſheries (if there were any) and the quantity of paſture land. It ſhould ſeem from this arrangement of the articles, that the church was noticed becauſe deemed a parcel of the manor, but that the glebe land annexed to the church was too inconſiderable to be joined with the carucates in the tenure of the villeins and borderers, as will appear to be the rule obſerved in the underwritten counties.

Worceſterſhire—Ripple—In demeſne 4 carucates, and 2 prieſts having a hide and half with 2 car' and 40 vill' and 10 bordar' with 36 carucates. Dr. Naſh's Coll. v. I. p. 294.

Worceſterſhire—Tetbury. There is a prieſt with 1 carucate and it is worth five ſhillings. Ibid. p. 417.

——— Wolverley. There is a prieſt with 1 carucate, and one having one hide. Ibid. p. 470.

——— Doverdale. In demeſne were 2 carucates, and a church and a prieſt, and a ſmith, and 4 villans, and 4 bordars with 4 carucates. P. 292.

——— Fladbury—The biſhop held 9 carucates and a prieſt having half a hide, 23 vill' and 17 bordars with 19 carucates. P. 445.

——— Hartlebury—24 vill' and 3 bordars and a prieſt, among them all they have (inter omnes habent) 21 carucates. P. 568.

Northamptonſhire—Cateſby. In demeſne were 2 carucates and 2 ſervants, 1 maiden, 17 villanes with a prieſt and 4 cottagers held 6 carucates. Brydges's Hiſtory, I. p. 32.

——— Towceſter. In demeſne 1 hide and 3 carucates and 5 ſervants, 3 maidens; 21 villanes with a prieſt and 4 cóttagers had 6 carucates. Ibid. p. 273.

——— Brington. The arable land was 2 carucates in the hands of 6 ſocmen and a prieſt who held half a hide of the ſaid land. Ibid. p. 472.

Dorſetſhire.—Bollo p̄br ht æccłam de Winfrode cū una virg' t̄ræ it ē dim' car' val' x ſol'. Hutchins's Hiſt. Domeſd. Tit. XXIII.

——— Bollo p̄br æccłam de Pitretone et de Calvedone et de Flote; his adjacent 1 hid' et dimid' redd' LVII ſol' et VI denar'.

Eſſex.—Sandone—ibi Preſbyter cum 34 vill' hab' XIII carucat'.

—— Naſtoke—ten' unus Preſbiter dimid' hidam—ſed hundredus fert teſtimonium quod eſt S. Pauli. Dugdale's St. Paul's, Append. p. 191. &c.

Norfolk—Briſſingham—Eccleſ. XI ac' val' II ſol'. Blomefield's Hiſt. v. I. p. 33.

——— Frenſe. In Norwich Domeſday it is ſaid, that the rector then had a houſe and 20 acres of land not taxed. Ib. p. 98.

Norfolk

Norfolk—Dicclesbure (Dickleburgh) tenuit ſemper ſanctus Edmundus pro manerio, et duobus carucatis terræ—modo tenent duo Preſbyteri de Abbate eccleſ. xxx a. v. III ſ.

——— Herderſeta—I ecclia de LX ac' et val' 5 ſol. et alia eccleſia VIII ac' val. VIII d. Ibid. v. III. p. 15.

——— Thetford. St. Helen's was a pariſh church in the time of the Confeſſor, and at the making of Domeſday was endowed with a carucate or plow land—one villan, and one plow, and was part of the hundred of Methwold. Martin's Hiſt. p. 89.

——— Creſinegham (Great Creſingham) in eccla XX ac' v. XX d. P. II.

——— Suaffelda (Swafield) in ead' XXVIII ac' ad eccliam.

——— Tornedis (Thornage) I eccla XXXII ac' val' XXXII d. P. 9.

Mem. The Domeſday ſurvey for Worceſterſhire and Northamptonſhire has ſometimes noticed the number of acres annexed to a church, as alſo the yearly value of them; but in the extracts from the Norfolk ſurvey publiſhed in the appendix to Martin's Hiſtory of Thetford theſe circumſtances are ſeldom omitted.

Page 229.

Dorſetſhire—Hinetone Rex ten'.—De hac ead' terr' tenuit quidam pbr I hid' in Tainlande et poterat ire q' volãt m° ẽ in dnio—De ipſa ead' terr' ten' alſ pbr manens in Tarente unã hidã et val' XXX ſol. Hutchins's Hiſt. Domeſd. N° XXVIII.

——— Rainbaldus pbr ten' de Rege Polcham. Ipſe tenuit T. E. R. et geldb' pro X hid' &c. Walter Diacon' ten' de Rege Cernel et Bernard' de eo, Goduin lib' no' tenuit et geldebat pro III hid'. N° XXIIII.

——— Terre Tainor' Regis—Bello pbr ten' Mapeldre. Ipſe tenuit cũ aliis VII libis ho' tenuit T. E. R. et geldebat pro V hid' et III v' træ val' IIII ł.

Bollo ten' Cicherelle—Saulf ten' T. E. R. et geld' pro III hid' et dimid' v' træ val' LX ſolid. N° LVI.

Norfolk—Bruga (Bridgeham) huic manerio I. acr' I. pbr et val' II. ſol. et non poterat vendere terram—Blomefield, I. p. 295.

Northamp-

Northamptonſhire—Boughton. Godwin the prieſt held of the crown one virgate and a half in Burchetone, and had there half a virgate valued at v ſhillings. Bridges's Hiſt. I. p. 410.

——————— Northampton. Augſgur the king's chaplain had one houſe of which the king ought to have the ſoke. Ibid. p. 440. Godwin the prieſt had one houſe rented at xii d. P. 441.

——————— Kings Sutton. Beſides lands in the tenure of the crown, Godwin the prieſt and Ulwin held in Sutton of the king, 3 virgates &c. Ib. p. 178.

Mem. In the extracts laſt cited from the Domeſday of Dorſetſhire it appears to be implied that it was not in their clerical capacity that the perſons named held their lands—becauſe of one it is mentioned that he could diſpoſe of the lands, for ſo I have ſeen the words *ire e' quo vellet* interpreted—of another, that he held the lands jointly with other free thanes—of a third, that a free man held the lands under him—and alſo from its being noticed of moſt of the lands that they had been taxed in the time of Edward the Confeſſor.

Kent.—Newetone (Newington).

Albertus capellan' ten' de Rege Newetone. Sidgar tenuit de regina Eddid' et tē et mo' ſe defd' p. vii ſolins et dimid'. Mr. Haſted's Hiſt. v. II. p. 549.

XXIII. *Obſervations on the Origin of Printing.* By Ralph Willett, *Eſq. F. A. R. S.* *In a Letter to* Owen Saluſbury Brereton, *Eſq.*

Read May 26, 1785.

Dear Sir,

THE obſervations which you deſire me to make concerning the "Speculum Salutis" in my poſſeſſion, will be few, unleſs I am permitted to enter a little more largely into the ſubject of early printing.

Few ſubjects in literature have offered more diſputants than that which hath endeavoured to aſcertain the origin of printing; Harlem, Mentz, and Straſburg, have claimed the invention; the two firſt cities, in particular, have exerciſed the pens of many learned men. The diſpute is hardly ſettled yet; but, if I may be allowed to throw in my mite, I will ſtate, as ſhortly as poſſible, the reaſons which determine my opinion in favour of Mentz. I muſt deſire your indulgence in mentioning ſomething reſpecting the origin of engraving likewiſe; a ſubject involved in as much obſcurity as that of printing.

If we credit Naudé, and ſeveral other writers, the paper uſed by Fuſt hath always the mark of a heifer's head or horns: if this point ſhould be allowed as a criterion to diſtinguiſh his performances, the Speculum muſt be the work of Fuſt; for that mark occurs on almoſt every leaf in it; but this mark may

not be deemed infallible, when I come, hereafter, to offer ſome evidence that ſeems to invalidate it.

In the Spieghel, the book contended for by Harlem, and urged by Junius in ſupport of that claim, the ſame prints are made uſe of, and the ſame Latin titles under them are retained as in the Latin Speculum; but the text is in Flemiſh and in proſe, whereas in the other it is in verſe and in Latin, and of a piece with the Latin titles under the prints.

Mr. Enſchedè, according to Heineken, hath diſcovered, by a careful inveſtigation, that the letters uſed in the Spieghel are formed with moveable metal types, and the ink is much blacker than that in the Speculum. Surely theſe are indications that the Spieghel is a later work, unleſs we could ſuppoſe that the moveable metal types preceded thoſe on wooden blocks.

A preſumption may be offered, which, though a negative one, hath ſome weight. No other edition by Coſter, or any printer in Harlem, is known before the year 1500, except one in 1485, "de proprietatibus rerum, libri 18;" whereas we have many, in a regular ſucceſſion, by Fuſt.

Can it be ſuppoſed that a diſcovery of ſo much importance would not have been proſecuted by Coſter, and others, at Harlem, if the art had taken its riſe in that city?

Another preſumption may be offered in favour of the German claim, by obſerving that all the firſt printers in the various parts of Europe were Germans; and that the art ſeems to have been diſperſed every where by them, not a ſingle Flemiſh artiſt appearing to have practiſed it in any place much before the year 1500.

Hiſtory alſo informs us, that Charles the Seventh, king of France, ſo early as the year 1458, directed the officers of his mint to recommend a proper perſon to him who might be ſent privately to *Mentz*, to enquire into an art that then made ſo

much noiſe, and was practiſed by Guttenberg in that *city*, with a view to learn it, if poſſible, and introduce it into France: Jenſon was the perſon ſo recommended and employed. Is it likely that Jenſon ſhould be ſent to *Mentz*, and not to *Harlem*, in that early period, if the German claim had not been inconteſtibly allowed?

As you ſtill ſeem to doubt it, I am in hopes to reconcile you to the account that Du Bure gives of the early Bible mentioned by him, when you have conſidered the new evidence that I have to offer about it: in the firſt place, it ſhould be obſerved, that the early writers on this ſubject always refer to an edition of the Bible prior to that in 1462, and place it between 1450 and 1455.

Although this edition had been commonly ſuppoſed to exiſt, no diſcovery had been made of any copy of it until one was found in the Mazarine library; ſince which, the ſame gentleman, Mr. De Bure, hath mentioned another in the Duke de Valiere's ſale.

An authority ſuperior to that of De Bure hath added great weight to theſe two copies; for that moſt accurate of all writers on theſe matters, Mr. Heineken, hath informed us, that there is another copy in the library of the academy at Leipſick; and he places this edition between 1450 and 1452.

The ancient writers, in ſpeaking of this Bible, ſay expreſsly of the characters, that they are *ſcriptura grandiori:* now, theſe copies agree in this article, for De Bure, who examined the two mentioned by him, ſays, that the characters are of a ſize between thoſe uſed for the Speculum, and thoſe for the Pſalter; which cannot be ſaid of thoſe uſed for the Bible in 1462.

In the Bible of 1462 there is a Colophon that clearly explains the manner in which the work had been performed: this would defeat the intention of Fuſt to practiſe the cheat aſcribed

to him of ſelling it for a manuſcript; beſides, there were many other books printed by Fuſt and others, with Colophons of the ſame import, ſeveral years before 1466, when you and others ſuppoſe he travelled into France on that errand, with the Bible of 1462.

Fuſt muſt have died very ſoon after the period you aſſign for this journey; for no edition by him is known later than that very year, 1466. Tully's Offices is the laſt we know of printed by him. Schoeffer, in the year following, 1467, printed Thomas Aquinas Secunda Secundæ; and in 1468 Juris Imper. Juſtiniani, uſing his own name only to both the editions, without joining that of Fuſt as he uſed to do. It hath, indeed, been generally ſuppoſed that he died about this time; and in 1471 Schoeffer gave a book to a monaſtery, in order to obtain the prayers of it for the ſoul of Fuſt.

If we allow the account, that Charles the Seventh ſent Jenſon ſo early as 1458 to Mentz, how could Fuſt have practiſed the fraud, aſcribed to him, of ſelling the Bible for a manuſcript ſo long after as 1466 in the ſame kingdom? I therefore ſubmit to your candid review of this matter, whether it is not more natural to ſuppoſe, that Fuſt carried an earlier edition of the Bible than that of 1462 into France, and practiſed the fraud aſcribed to him at a period when the art was unknown, viz. between 1450 and 1455, rather than to fix this journey into France with the Bible of 1462 at ſo late a period as 1466, when ſo many books by Fuſt and others had proclaimed the art to the world, and made the fraud impracticable.

Beſides, the art was probably no longer a ſecret ſo early as 1455, at leaſt at Mentz; for the deed, by which Guttenberg was compelled by law to pay Fuſt ſo much money, as obliged the former to fly from Mentz, bears date in 1455; this adjudication hath

hath been always ſuppoſed to have been obtained on account of the expences incurred by printing this firſt Bible.

Inveſtigation will probably produce new lights in thoſe matters, and remove difficulties that puzzle us now. It is one valuable ſtep to knowledge when we are able to refute errors. Ramus and others, for a long time, ſuppoſed that Tully's Offices in 1465, was the firſt printed book; and Malenkrot, long after, aſſerted the ſame thing of Durand's Rationale, in 1459. We now know of two earlier books; for, beſides the Codex Pſalmorum in 1457, Mr. Heineken hath given us lately a moſt valuable information in this enquiry; for he tells us, in his curious book, Idée d'une collection d'Eſtampes, p. 261, that Mr. Schelthorn, of Memmingen, had diſcovered ſome letters of indulgence from Pope Nicholas the Fifth, printed, and that with a date, ſo early as 1454 by Fuſt and Schoeffer.

But, if we cannot decide poſitively in favour of Fuſt, there ſeems to be little doubt that the moſt valuable part of the art, and the greateſt improvement in it, is German; for it is generally allowed that the invention of the moveable metal types is due to Schoeffer.

The only real rival to Fuſt is Guttenberg. It had always been ſaid, that he worked with Fuſt in the very beginning of the art; but it hath not appeared, till lately, that he aſſiſted him with any thing but his purſe. A book now in lord Pembroke's library hath put it out of doubt, that he printed on the ſtrength of his own abilities, and independent of any aſſiſtance from Fuſt. The book is, the Dialogues of St. Gregory, in Latin: Præſens hoc opus factum eſt per Joann. Guttenberg, apud Argentinum, anno milleſimo CCCCLVIII. This book is therefore prior to any by Fuſt, except the Pſalter in 1457, and the Letters of Indulgence, lately diſcovered, in 1454. Will you allow me to ſay, that I think you treat too harſhly the Greek characters uſed by

Fuſt in his Tully's Offices? They are certainly very barbarous; but ſo are the very early ones uſed for the Latin. If they did not firſt ſhow the practicability of printing in that character, they are, at leaſt, coeval with thoſe we find in the Lactantius of the ſame year printed in Italy.

We ſhould not be ſurprized, that ſuch miſtakes and ſo much uncertainty ſhould occur in treating this queſtion at ſuch a remote period from the invention of printing, when we find the great Harry Stevens, who lived and flouriſhed ſo near the period of it, guilty of ſuch a groſs one, as that of aſcribing the invention of the Greek type to Aldus, whoſe firſt book in that character, as he himſelf allows, was printed only in 1494.

Beſides the titles to the paradoxes in Tully's Offices in 1465, the Lactantius, printed in the monaſtery of Subiaco 1465 likewiſe, hath the Greek characters in the quotations beautifully printed; the Aulus Gellius, printed in 1469 by Sweynheim and Pannartz at Rome, the Greek characters in which are very beautiful; we have an intire book, the Greek Grammar by Laſcaris in 1476 at Milan; a Greek Pſalter printed at Venice in 1486, by Alexander of Crete, the Batrachomyomachia of Homer, at Venice, in the ſame year, by Laonicus of Crete; the very great and entire work of Homer at Florence in 1488; Iſocrates at Milan in 1493; are all of them ſufficient confutations of this bold aſſertion.

But, to return to the Speculum, as far as it illuſtrates the origin of engraving; it is generally allowed that it was printed about the year 1445; there are many prints in it, which, though very rude, carry back the invention fifteen years earlier than the ſuppoſed invention by Maſo Finiguerra at Florence; perhaps thoſe in the Ars Moriendi are ſtill earlier.

If I may be permitted to purſue this ſubject a little further, in ſupport of the German claim to the priority in the art of engraving,

graving, I would obſerve, that our worthy friend, Mr. Rogers, hath a print in his valuable collection, with a date ſo early as 1465. I have two others myſelf, the one with a date of 1466, the other 1468. Theſe three prints, without the name of any maſter, though evidently of German work, are engraved in ſuch a maſterly manner, as plainly to prove that the art had, at that time, made a conſiderable progreſs; and the æra of them may ſafely be fixed at a conſiderable diſtance from the invention of it; they are certainly earlier than any by Martin Schoen, or the two Iſraels of Machenen.

It may be obſerved further, in confutation of the Italian claim, that the firſt maps, engraved in that or any other country, were done by a German; I mean Ptolomey's Coſmography, printed at Rome in 1478, by Buckinck, to which are added twenty-ſeven maps, neatly engraved. In the dedication to Pope Sextus the Fourth, he ſays, that the attempt to print this book had been firſt made by Sweynheim, and that he had been three years in trying to accompliſh it, but died before he could effect it. Sweynheim died in 1473; ſo this attempt muſt have commenced in 1470 (not, as Heineken ſays, by miſtake, in 1472). Buckinck reſumed and finiſhed it in 1478. Sweynheim and Buckinck were both of them Germans. Now, if Maſo Finiguerra had invented the art of engraving ſo early as 1460, and Pollaoilolo had practiſed it commonly ſo ſoon afterwards in Italy, neither Sweynheim or Buckinck could have experienced ſo much difficulty in perfecting the plates as they complain of; for the application of the art from engraving of hiſtorical ſubjects, to that of engraving maps was obvious; or, at leaſt, would have leſſened many of the difficulties that occurred to Sweynheim and Buckinck on that occaſion.

I am very ſorry, in a letter intended to throw light on the ſubject, to mention a remark that ſeems to introduce doubt on the

the moſt eſtabliſhed points of it; no one point is more generally allowed, than that the mark of the Heifer's head, aſcribed to the paper of Fuſt, evidently aſcertained his performances; perhaps this concluſion may not be thought ſo certain, when I mention a manuſcript obſervation of the late Mr. Mariette.

In a valuable collection of old prints that I bought at his ſale, he ſays, that he had obſerved the ſame mark on the paper uſed for many of the early prints. It is with regret that I muſt confirm his teſtimony; I have carefully examined not only thoſe bought at his ſale, but many others belonging to me before I made that purchaſe; the reſult is, that the ſame mark occurs in very many of them by M. Schoen and the two Iſraels. Mr. Ames hath alſo obſerved the ſame mark, the Heifer's head and horns, on the paper of a book printed at St. Albans ſo late as 1481, and now in the library of the Middle Temple; the book is in Latin, and conſiſts of eighty pages, on moral ſubjects. Clement alſo mentions a Juſtin printed at Venice in 1479, with the ſame mark on the paper.

I wiſh the public may be ſatisfied with the reaſon Mariette gives to preſerve the authority commonly given to this mark, viz. that this paper was all manufactured by Fuſt, who, beſides uſing it himſelf, he ſuppoſes to have ſupplied other artiſts with it; this I think would rather weaken the authority he meant to preſerve.

Mr. Mariette hath alſo ſuppoſed, that the old prints, marked Francis Van Bockholt, are much earlier than any by Martin Schoen and the two Iſraels, and even that this Maſter may be the very firſt engraver. I cannot agree with his opinion, though not for the reaſon that Heineken gives, viz. the letters being Italic and not Gothic, as uſed by Schoen and the two Iſraels; and roundly affirms that thoſe characters (which he ſhould have called the Roman), were not employed in Germany in the fifteenth century;

tury; whereas Albert Durer evidently employed them in his earlieſt prints. But I ground my opinion on another reaſon, I think of more weight, the ſuperior ſtile of engraving obſervable in thoſe of Bockholt's; unleſs we could ſuppoſe that the art, inſtead of advancing, declined in the hands of Schoen and the Iſraels. Bockholt, however, had certainly great merit, and though not the maſter, might be the ſcholar of Martin Schoen.

Allow me to mention a curious obſervation that I had entered in my notes concerning the city of Vienna. Mr. Heineken hath been very particular in his account of the Pſalter of 1457 kept in the Imperial library; we both agree that the initial letters are evidently engraved, and that ſo beautifully performed, as to juſtify an opinion, that the art had already made a conſiderable progreſs. This carries back the invention eight years earlier than the print of our friend, Mr. Rogers, and three years earlier than the ſuppoſed invention at Florence. Vide Mr. Heineken's book, in which the letter B is exactly copied; it is adorned with foliage, flowers, and two animals, a dog and a bird, evidently engraved.

Will you permit me to correct a miſtake of our worthy friend, Mr. Rogers, who calls the Speculum, Le Bible des pauvres? That ſecondary title belongs to the Hiſtoria Veteris et Novi Teſtamenti.

It may not be worth mentioning, that I have alſo a very fine copy of the Catholicon; but it certainly deſerves notice in ſaying, that another fine book by Fuſt, in 1460, hath lately made its appearance in the Duke de Valiere's ſale. It is printed by him in the ſame year with the Catholicon; the title is Conſtitutiones Clementis Papæ V. The Catholicon is a great work; and in exhibiting this new proof of his induſtry, we carry on the ſeries of his publications, and evince his indefatigable application to his

his art; two ſuch books, in one year, would credit the beſt printer in modern times.

It is unpleaſant, and I am afraid invidious, to notice the errors of other writers on this ſubject: but, in a matter that affects not only the reputation of Caxton, but that of Engliſh engraving, I hope I may be allowed to correct a miſtake in a writer who very rarely commits any, I mean Mr. Walpole; eſpecially as he hath miſled Heineken, and by that means propagated the error among foreigners. As Mr. Aſtle's curious book will be as well known on the Continent, as it is deſervedly in England, it may be the means of correcting it there by obſerving it here. Mr. Walpole, and, from him, Heineken ſays, that the firſt book printed in England, in which any prints occur, is the Golden Legend, by Caxton in 1483. Now, I have two books of Caxton's myſelf, that evince an earlier date to the art of engraving in England, namely, the Game of Cheſs, and the Mirrour of the World.

The latter is printed in 1480; it is not ſo eaſy to aſcertain the date of the former; but, if we allow that the firſt edition was printed in 1474, Caxton ſays, in his preface to this ſecond edition, in which we find the prints, that he was induced to reprint it by the immediate and rapid ſale of the firſt edition: this ſecond edition may therefore be ſtill earlier than the Mirrour of the World; however, both theſe books contain a great many prints from wooden blocks.

It may not be amiſs to remark, on this occaſion, an error of Mr. Palmer's about this ſecond edition, as it will furniſh a uſeful caution in aſcertaining of dates. Miſled by a cypher of Caxton's name, in which the date of 74 occurs, and which he found annexed to a copy of this ſecond edition in lord Pembroke's library, he falſely calls it the firſt edition, although Caxton himſelf, in his preface to this very edition, gives the account abovementioned; the date and cypher are however curi-

ous,

ous, as it may, perhaps, eſtabliſh a date to the firſt edition, to which it may have belonged, or to ſome other book of Caxton's earlier than the "Dyctes and Sayings of the Philoſophers" in 1477, which hath commonly been thought to be his firſt book with a date, printed in England.

We ſhould not, therefore, be too haſty in deciding on ſuch uncertain authorities. In my own copy of the "Mirrour of the World," the ſame miſtake hath happened; for, at the end of the book, but on a leaf detached from the text, the ſame cypher with the date of 74 is introduced, although Caxton ſays expreſsly, in his preface to it, that he printed it in 1480.

Ignorance, and ſometimes deſign, may transfer theſe marks from one book to another, as they are almoſt always on a detached leaf, and are to be found in ſeveral editions of Caxton's works.

If this cypher ſhould be conſidered only as a vignette of Caxton's, it will at leaſt furniſh a reaſonable proof, that he refers his own practiſing the art to that year, and that he conſtantly ſupported that claim, by uſing this vignette to ſeveral of his publications afterwards.

It may not be amiſs to take a view of the publications by Fuſt as far as we are acquainted with them; they are more numerous than it is generally ſuppoſed; and if not of weight enough to overthrow the Harlem pretenſion, are ſufficient to ſhow this great man's induſtry, and that the art did not ſleep in his hands, as it muſt have done in Coſter's, and the other claimants from Harlem; who, except that one book in 1485, have given us nothing, at leaſt that hath reached us, until the year 1500. In the liſt of theſe publications by Fuſt, I ſhall mention a Bible in the German language, now in my poſſeſſion, printed in the year 1462. There is another German Bible, without a date, but probably by Fuſt, as the characters are exactly

like thoſe in mine. This latter belongs to the King, and may be a little later than mine, as it hath an index, which mine wants, and never could have had. I therefore imagine it may be about three years later than mine. I do not mention the books printed on wooden blocks, though probably ſome of them, the Latin Speculum at leaſt, were done by Fuſt.

The liſt is as followeth:

The Bible, about the year	1450
Letters of Indulgence from Pope Nicholas the Fifth	1454
Pſalmorum Codex	1457
Durand's Rationale Divin. Officiorum	1459
Pſalmorum Codex	1459
Catholicon	1460
Conſtitutiones Clementis V.	1460
The Latin Bible	1462
The German Bible	1462
Another edition of the German Bible, probably about	1465
Tully's Offices	1465
Liber ſextus Decretalium Bonifacii VIII.	1465
Tully's Offices (if not the ſame as that of 1465)	1466

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

RALPH WILLETT.

XXIV. *An Account of the Caves of* Cannara, Ambola, *and* Elephanta, *in the* Eaſt Indies; *in a Letter from* Hector Macneil, *Eſq. then at* Bombay, *to a Friend in* England, *dated* 1783. *Communicated by the Rev. Mr.* Gregory, *F. A. S.*

Read June 29, 1786.

THE caves of Salſet and Elephanta have of late attracted the notice of the virtuoſi at this place, and are now the general topic of converſation.

As nothing has hitherto appeared on this ſubject, except a ſhort and imperfect deſcription of the cave at Elephanta, I ſhall attempt to give you ſome idea of what filled me with aſtoniſhment during a late excurſion to Salſet, undertaken chiefly with a deſign to explore thoſe ancient monuments of genius and ſuperſtition.

The iſland of Salſet lies in the ſame latitude with Bombay, and is ſeparated from it only by a narrow arm of the ſea at the N. W. extremity of the iſland. It is conſiderably larger than Bombay, and excells it as much in beauty as it does in all kinds of animal and vegetable productions, which are found here in great abundance and perfection. The principal town is Tarmah, at which place the iſland may be ſaid to join the Continent, being ſeparated only by a ſmall inlet of the ſea, which at low water admits of your paſſing over on foot without any in-

convenience. Tarmah formerly belonged to the Portugueſe, who built the preſent fort, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and lately in the hands of the Mahrattas, from whom we took it at the commencement of the war with that nation, but not without ſome loſs, as four hundred grenadiers were killed in the attack before it capitulated.

Accompanied by ſome gentlemen of the place, I ſet out from Tarmah early in the morning for the caves of Cannara; a ſpot as ſingular for the production of art, as for the lonely romantic ſcenes of nature that ſurround it. To this place, which is at the N. W. part of the iſland, the governor and moſt of the gentlemen of Bombay go annually, on a party of pleaſure, to hunt the wild boar, and royal tiger, both of which are found here in great plenty, the woods and thick jungles [*a*] affording excellent ſhelter for beaſts of prey. For near three miles round the caves, the country, from its not having hitherto been cleared, is a continued wilderneſs, beautifully diverſified with hill and dale, rocks and murmuring rills. The variety likewiſe of tree and ſhrub is peculiarly ſtriking, and furniſhes a noble ſource of entertainment to the lover of nature. The mango-tree, one of the richeſt and moſt grateful in India, grows here in ſuch plenty, that you meet with it every twenty or thirty yards. The foliage of this tree is thick and umbrageous, and of the deepeſt green, and when the fruit, which is of the fineſt golden colour, is in ſeaſon, you may eaſily conceive what a charming object is preſented to the eye in a country where the heat renders fruits and ſhade ſo deſirable. In our journey on foot (for the narrowneſs and ruggedneſs of the road obliged us to leave our Palanquins above two miles from the caves) I had an opportunity for an inſtant of ſeeing and hearing the Mangoe-bird, ſo remarkable for the vivid tints of its plumage, particularly that which

[*a*] A kind of ſmall Bamboo.

reſembles

reſembles the colour of the fruit, from which it takes its name. The notes of this beautiful bird, though ſimple, were plaintive and melodious. One of the gentlemen, with the true ſpirit of a ſportſman, ſoon put an end to my pleaſure by firing at it, but without effect; a circumſtance I could not but regret, as we never afterwards had an opportunity of ſeeing another. Proceeding up a gentle, though rugged aſcent, we about noon arrived at the caves, or in other words, at the baſe of a ſteep hill, about a quarter of a mile in circumference, compoſed of a ſolid maſs of rock, out of which all the caves are formed. From the baſe to the top of this rock cannot be leſs than one hundred yards perpendicular height; you aſcend a conſiderable part of the way by different flights of ſteps cut out of the rock, which likewiſe lead to a variety of caves, that like ſo many ſtories and rooms of a large houſe occupy the different parts of the mountain, till you arrive at the ſummit, which commands a charming proſpect of the adjacent country.

On my firſt approach to this ſingular and aſtoniſhing ſcene, I was filled with new wonder at every ſtep; palaces, ſtatues, giants, monſters, and deities ſeemed as if ſtarting from the bowels of the earth to open day. From the appellation of *cave*, I was previouſly led to conceive that I ſhould be obliged to explore my way through dark and ſubterraneous paſſages cut in the rock; judge then my ſurpriſe when, inſtead of theſe, I found myſelf in a kind of ſtreet, where, on one hand, a range of lofty domes ornamented with porticos, pillars, arches, and human figures burſt upon the eye at one view, and preſented a ſcene more like enchantment than reality. It would be an endleſs taſk to me, and I am afraid a tireſome one to you, were I to deſcribe the different caves through which we paſſed, and which almoſt entirely ſurround the mountain. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to a deſcription of the grand cave or *temple*, which indeed

ſurpaſſes

ſurpaſſes all the others, as much in extent as in beauty and ornament.

The entrance to this wonderful excavation is by two princely gateways, highly ornamented with a variety of figures now almoſt quite effaced by the hand of time. The firſt of theſe leads to an open court, of about twenty feet ſquare, with two pillars, on which are repreſented, in baſſo relievo, a lion and a tiger. To the right are two urns, executed in a very neat manner, and perfectly freſh. At the oppoſite end of this court is an apartment cut out of the rock, in which are five human figures in alto relievo, two of which are much larger than the life, with a number of ſmall figures, like angels, hovering over them; a variety of other figures, in the attitude of devotion, ſurround the pedeſtal on which the two large ones already mentioned ſtand. The other gate leads to what in this country is called a *veranda* or *feranda*, which is a kind of piazza, or landing place, before you enter the hall or inner apartments. This generally ſurrounds the whole houſe; and, from its being open at the ſides, affords the cooleſt, and conſequently the moſt pleaſant place to ſit or to walk in during the heats of the day. Theſe verandas are both above and below, according to the conſtruction of the houſe. The one we have juſt now mentioned extended no farther than the breadth of the cave, or great hall, and might be about twenty-eight feet in length, and fifteen in breadth. You enter it by two pillars ornamented with a vaſt number of female figures nearly effaced. Two large windows perforate the outer wall of this veranda, which, with the entrance, give light and chearfulneſs to the whole. At each end, in a kind of nich, ſtand two immenſe male figures in alto relievo, nearly of the ſame dimenſions, and in ſimilar attitudes and dreſs. The height of theſe gigantic ſtatues, as nearly as I could judge by the meaſurement of a long pole, was about twenty-two or twenty-three

feet, and (except the ſhoulders which appeared to me rather too broad) the whole figure is very well proportioned. The little-finger meaſured exactly fifteen inches; the length of the foot from the heel thirty-five inches, the extended hand from the wriſt thirty-ſeven inches, the leg from the foot four feet three inches and a half, the thigh five feet, and from the pedeſtal to the upper part of the kneepan five feet nine inches. The attitude of theſe figures is erect: the right arm extended nearly parallel to the ſide; the hand open, with the palm uppermoſt; the left arm raiſed in an eaſy elegant poſition to the top of the ſhoulder, where the hand holds the end of a garment which deſcends from the left breaſt almoſt to the feet in looſe folds, whence it ſeems to be brought round the back to the left ſhoulder, where it is ſecured as already deſcribed. The countenances of both theſe figures are placid and grave, and except the noſe, which is handſome, approaching ſomething to the Cafres, particularly in the under lip, which, like that of all the other figures, is thick and prominent; the eye downcaſt, the forehead low, the face broad, and the whole colour reſembling much more the Engliſh than the Gentoo. The heads of both were ornamented with an infinite number of ſmall curls, but whether intended as a repreſentation of natural hair, or as a crown or cap, I could not poſitively determine: the ears were large, in which were ear-rings of a monſtrous ſize, pendent to and apparently reſting on the ſhoulders. Round the head of each a variety of ſmall figures, in an incumbent poſture, hold ſomething in their hands reſembling flowers and feſtoons, many of which are elegantly executed.

On each ſide of the door leading to the great hall (which, like the others, faces the eaſt) two groups of male and female figures principally occupy the oppoſite ſide of the veranda which fronts you on your firſt entrance. Theſe groups conſiſt each of

two

two males and two females, which, from their attitudes, and the different inſtruments in their hands, I ſhould ſuppoſe to be dancers. The firſt group on the left, or S. W. end of the veranda, repreſents a female, holding ſomething which I could not make out, in her right hand above her ſhoulder; her left arm extended round the back of the male, whoſe right elbow reſts on the curve of the woman's arm. The man holds in his right hand an inſtrument ſimilar to that held by the woman, and raiſed in the ſame manner above the ſhoulder. To the left of the man another woman holds in her right hand, pendent to her ſide, ſomething reſembling a bell or cymbal, her left arm like the other, round the back of the man on her left, who is nearly in the ſame poſition with the other. The dreſs of the female conſiſts of a kind of cap, flat to the head, with very large earrings reſting on the ſhoulder. They are naked to the middle, round which is a cloth or garment tied, which deſcends behind about the middle of the thigh: the ends of the garment tied fold over the parts of generation; the legs remain bare; the ankles and wriſts ornamented with large rings or *bangles* ſingle and double, the only part of dreſs that is ſimilar to the preſent faſhion of the inhabitants of India. The breaſts of theſe, like all the other female figures are remarkably large and globular, the belly prominent, and the lower part of the waiſt unnaturally ſmall. The men are likewiſe naked to the hips, with a garment or cloth ſimilar to that of the females tied in a knot at the left hip, the ends of which hang near half down the thigh, the parts of generation ſeemingly expoſed, but from the ravages of time I could not be poſitive. The heads of each are highly ornamented with a kind of bonnet or cap, on the right ſide of which an additional ornament is affixed reſembling a bunch of flowers. The ſecond group conſiſts of the ſame number of figures male and female, and in much the ſame attitude and dreſs,

dreſs, with this difference, that from the places being reverſed, the left arm of the man embraces the woman with the hand reſting on her left ſhoulder; the poſition of the man's legs likewiſe differs in this reſpect, that, inſtead of the left foot being turned out in a horizontal direction, both feet remain parallel to each other. The countenances of the figures in theſe groups cannot now be diſtinguiſhed ſo as to form a juſt idea of their expreſſion. From the attitudes, however, which are evidently amorous, and ſome remaining traces of feature, we are authoriſed to ſuppoſe they were animated and expreſſive of joy, though indeed all the other figures in the veranda ſeem to contradict the ſuppoſition. Immediately above the two groups juſt deſcribed, another row of figures, extending nearly the whole length of the veranda, ſit croſs-legged in the attitude of devotion, with the hand, like many of the figures in the other caves, in a particular poſition, which I afterwards diſcovered was the act of counting the beads of a roſary.

On the left of the large figure at the N. W. end of the veranda ſtands, in a nich, a ſmall female figure in a penſive, melancholy attitude; the head inclined to the left ſhoulder; the eye downcaſt; the right hand holding the inſtrument already mentioned, the left hanging in a negligent manner by her ſide. Near to her on the left, in another nich, ſtands a male figure bending a little forward in the attitude of advice or perſuaſion; the head ornamented with a kind of crown terminating in a point; his right hand extended, the forefinger and thumb holding a ſtring of beads; the left hand, like moſt of the other figures, holds the folds of a garment over the left ſhoulder. On the right of the large figure, in a nich, ſtands a male figure, his right hand open and pendant to his ſide, his body inclined a little to the left, and his countenance highly expreſſive of ſorrow. At the other end of the veranda, immediately oppoſite, ſtands a

male figure, almoſt ſimilar in attitude and appearance. There are a number of other figures in this veranda, but ſo defaced by time that I could make nothing of them. From what has already been deſcribed, you may however form ſome idea of the uncommon labour beſtowed on theſe pieces of ſculpture cut out in alto relievo from a rock of the hardeſt nature, many of which figures, at this diſtant period, appear as freſh and entire as if juſt from the hands of the artiſt. But the moſt extraordinary inſtance of human labour and art remains yet to be deſcribed, namely, the cave or grand hall of this beautiful excavation.

The entrance to this magnificent apartment is at a ſpacious door cut through the wall that forms the inner ſide of the veranda already mentioned. Over this door, and above the top of the veranda, at the height I ſhould ſuppoſe of near thirty feet from the ground, are five large windows or doors cut out ſo as nearly to illuminate the whole cave. The center window of theſe five is an arch or complete ſemicircle, the extream height of which I think cannot be leſs than nine or ten feet. The other four are of the uſual parallelogramic form, carried down as low as the floor of the upper veranda, or in other words the top of the lower one. On entering the great hall there is a paſſage of about four feet, that goes quite round between the walls and the colonade of pillars, which, to the number of thirty-four, ornament this ſpacious chamber, and ſupport the incumbent weight of the mountain. The firſt four extend from right to left in a ſtraight line, the two firſt of which are regular octagons, without baſe, or capital; the other two have ſeven equal ſides with the eighth projecting half the diameter of the pillar. On the left ſide of the hall are eleven pillars different from any known order, the pedeſtals and capitals ornamented with a variety of ſmall figures in baſſo relievo, repreſenting principally elephants

elephants with men and women riding on their backs, very well executed, but much decayed; the eighth pillar has a tree, with an open book at the root. On the right of the hall there are only ſix pillars with capitals and baſes; they are likewiſe highly ornamented, but the figures almoſt intirely effaced; the firſt pillar, however, furniſhes us with the repreſentation of a tiger, a horſe, and two men, executed in ſo maſterly a manner, that we cannot help aſcribing particular excellence to the reſt. The tiger is couchant, and juſt ready to ſeize on his prey; but the terror and attitude of the horſe is equal to any thing of the kind I ever ſaw; one of the men ſeems as if ruſhing in between the horſe and danger, his countenance and attitude highly expreſſive of fortitude. The other pillars, thirteen in number, are plain octagons, and ſurround the circular extremity of the hall, where a large ſolid maſs of ſtone, in form of a pagoda, or mauſoleum, ſtands immediately in the center. All round this pagoda, like thoſe now found in the country, are holes cut to contain lamps uſed during particular ceremonies. The length of the hall, from each end of the colonade, is above ſixty feet, and about twenty in breadth; the full dimenſions of the whole, including the paſſage beforementioned, muſt therefore be ſixty-eight by twenty-eight. The height, from the ground to the higheſt part of the roof (which is arched in a moſt maſterly ſtyle), cannot be leſs than forty feet. Quite round the walls, where the roof commences, there are places cut out of the rock as if to ſupport the ends of beams or rafters; and from the regular marks all over the roof, it is pretty evident it was formerly covered with wood, perhaps curiouſly carved like the pagodas every where found in India. Immediately under theſe are two rows of ſquare holes that likewiſe extend quite round, exactly parallel to each other, in which the ends of pieces of timber ſtill remain.

It is impoſſible to ſpeak deciſively on theſe appearances. From what has been juſt mentioned, it is clear that ſome wooden work muſt have projected from the walls all round the apartment; and this ſuppoſition is ſtill ſtrengthened by the formation of the whole excavation. From the large ſemicircular window or door in front being exactly in a line with the holes, it is natural to conclude that there muſt have been a communication between this place and the upper veranda; nor can I help thinking that a communication likewiſe took place between the under and upper ſtories, though not the ſmalleſt traces of it are any where to be found. To ſuppoſe that the upper part of this hall was floored would, I think, be a bad compliment to thoſe who have furniſhed us with ſuch inſtances of taſte and genius, as it muſt have intirely deſtroyed the grandeur of the whole, and wrapt the under part, with all its beauties, in utter darkneſs. I am therefore rather inclined to think, that a wooden gallery extended quite round, and that the communication between the under and upper ſtories muſt have been by a wooden ſtair-caſe either from without or from ſome part of the hall. Be this as it may, the grand cave of Cannara muſt ever be conſidered by the man of taſte as an object of beauty and ſublimity, and by the antiquary and philoſopher as one of the moſt valuable monuments of antiquity.

Having partly quenched my thirſt of curioſity at this inexhauſtible fountain, and examined the three adjoining caves (which are likewiſe curious relics of genius and devotion); we repaired to the other parts of the mountain, through an aſtoniſhing number of excavations of various forms and dimenſions. Many of theſe are between fifty and ſixty feet ſquare, decorated with pillars and verandas; but all different from the four other caves, being low in the roof, with few or no ſtatues. They are almoſt all furniſhed with a well of excellent water each,

each, cut into the rock, generally at the end of the verandas, or ſome inner apartment ſecured from the rays of the ſun, which renders it delightfully cool and grateful in a country like India. Theſe excavations, as I before remarked, have communications to each other by ſteps cut in the ſides of the rock, and extend to the oppoſite ſide of the ſtream that partly ſurrounds the baſe of the mountain, and which during the rainy ſeaſon, I ſhould ſuppoſe, is ſwelled into a conſiderable and rapid river. Moſt of theſe caves conſiſt of one large apartment, with a number of ſmall ones of different dimenſions adjoining; which circumſtance, together with many others, convinces me that this could not have been a place of mere worſhip, as is generally ſuppoſed, but the regular and fixed habitation of a ſet of people who perhaps lived here for ages. The different caves through which we paſſed (and theſe were far from conſtituting the whole number) might contain ſome thouſands of inhabitants without any inconvenience, if occupied in the ſame manner as the preſent habitations of the people in this country. That ſuch an immenſe number of excavations, divided into a variety of different apartments, and carefully ſupplied with ſuch plenty of water, were executed merely for the purpoſe of religious worſhip, is, I muſt confeſs, to me incredible. Beſides, few of theſe caves, except the four already mentioned, bear the moſt diſtant marks of devotion; thoſe indeed give evident proofs of it, particularly the three which, with the grand cave, form a ſtreet or row on your firſt entrance, and which greatly excell all the others in magnificence, ornament, and beauty. They have each a pagoda (the invariable mark of worſhip in this country), round which a vaſt number of male and female figures either kneel or ſtand in a ſuppliant poſture; their eyes downcaſt, their countenances melancholy, with hands folded to their breaſts, or counting a ſtring of beads. All theſe figures occupy the front or the ve-

randa of the cave, and ſtrike the eye forcibly on the firſt approach. They are extremely well worth the attention of the curious; but, as my time was limited, and the grand cave becoming an object of more importance, I contented myſelf with a particular inſpection of that only.

After exploring the different caverns of this wonderful rock, and viewing from the ſummit the beauties of the ſurrounding country, we returned to the grand cave, where we were happy to find our ſervants arrived with the provender. The cloth was inſtantly laid in the ſouth window of the veranda, which furniſhed a table, if not the moſt poliſhed, perhaps the moſt ancient in the world. Exerciſe, good ſpirits, keen appetites, and novelty of ſituation, gave new charms to the feaſt; the cold fowls, ham, and ſallad, ſeemed better than any thing of the kind we had met with before; while good wine, excellent water, and ſocial mirth, crowned the moſt delicious banquet I ever enjoyed. After dinner ſome of the company went to ſleep, and others to the woods for ſport. I ſnatched the opportunity to make the few remarks which I now ſend you, and which I heartily regret are ſo inadequate to the ſubject. They however may ſerve as the outlines of a beautiful picture, which you may eaſily ſhade and colour by the help of a little imagination.

Returning to Tannah, we remained a few days viewing the different curioſities about the place, and then ſet off for *Ambola*, a village about half way between Tannah and the other extremity of the iſland, at which place the gentlemen of Salſet have erected a ſmall neat chamber, for the accommodation of thoſe who go to ſee the cave. During our paſſage thither, through a country delightfully wooded, and diverſified with hill and dale, we were met by above a hundred girls, carrying on their heads to market baſkets of dried fiſh, which in this country are called *bumbeloes*. Theſe girls were much handſomer than any I had

formerly ſeen in India, and appeared to me different in feature from the inhabitants of Bombay. Their colour was of a deeper and more ſhining black; their faces rounder, and infinitely more animated, and their perſons exquiſitly formed, might have vied in every thing but colour with the moſt perfect models. Their dreſs was nearly the ſame as that of the other natives, but none of them had any of thoſe ornaments in the noſe, which never fail to diſguſt the eye of an European, particularly on his firſt arrival in the country. On their near approach, I was a good deal ſurprized at their ſudden flight, which was ſoon explained by the conduct of our raſcals of palanquin bearers, who ſeized on the fiſh as lawful prize, and, notwithſtanding the cries and remonſtrances of the poor girls, took by force a certain quantity from every baſket they could ſeize upon. I was knight-errant enough to jump out of my palanquin in defence of injured beauty; and would have certainly chaſtiſed thoſe infringers of true chivalry, had I not been informed that cuſtom had ſanctified the act, and that the tax now levied was a conſtant perquiſite of thoſe gentlemen of the road. At one o'clock we arrived at Ambola, and immediately proceeded to the cave, which is not diſtant above half a mile.

The entrance to the cave of Ambola is neither dignified with the objects that preſent themſelves on your firſt approach to the caves of Cannara, nor beautified by the romantic ſcenes that ſurround them. The aſcent to this cave is hardly perceptible; the rock, out of which the excavation is made, being in magnitude very inferior to that at Cannara, and indeed little more than what affords materials for one immenſe cavern which nearly occupies the whole. The entrance, however, or weſt door of this cave, muſt have been in its original ſtate very different

ferent indeed from its preſent appearance. Many evident marks of grandeur ſtill remain to ſupport this opinion, and at the ſame time to impreſs us with a very high idea of its magnificence and uncommon ornament. All that now appears are the mouldering remains of ſix pillars on each ſide, and two large figures at each end of a veranda or portico that leads to the door of the cave, but ſo completely obliterated that no juſt idea can be formed of their original ſtructure. It is evident, however, that extraordinary pains muſt have been taken in ornamenting this veranda. A variety of ſmall figures in alto and baſſo relievo occupy every part of it, particularly the door and two windows which perforate the weſt wall of the cave, and which are the only inlets of light from that quarter. From this veranda you deſcend a few ſteps into the body of the principal cave, which, from its gloom and magnitude, ſtrikes you on your entrance with a ſolemn awe. This cave is a perfect ſquare of ninety feet, adorned with twenty pillars which ſupport the roof fifteen feet from the walls, and conſequently form another ſquare of ſeventy-five feet within the colonade. In the center of this ſquare is another of fifteen feet, exactly in a line with the doors of the cave that lead from weſt to eaſt. This ſmall ſquare has four doors that enter from each ſide: in the middle is one of thoſe pagodas or mauſoleums already mentioned, with a bell, the uſual appendage to all the Gentoo places of worſhip, and invariably rung by each perſon on his entrance. There are a number of figures round this ſquare, particularly on each ſide of the door facing the eaſt, among which are ſome of a monſtrous appearance, with ſeveral of thoſe deformed dwarfs ſo generally met with in this cave and that of Elephanta. The height of the cave cannot be more than fourteen or fifteen feet; the north ſide is a dead wall, the ſouth is perforated by two windows and three ſpacious doors that lead to a veranda, which extends from eaſt to weſt,

weſt, one hundred and ten feet in length, and fifteen in breadth. This veranda is adorned with twelve pillars which ſupport the roof, and which with the doors and windows, particularly the center door, are highly ornamented with emblematical groups of figures in baſſo relievo, nearly obliterated. An open ſpace of about thirty or forty feet here divides this part of the rock from that to the ſouthward. The eaſt and weſt extremities, however, at each end of the veranda are not ſeparated, and form a very remarkable track cut in the ſide of the oppoſite rock. I am inclined to think that a kind of roof or communication formerly joined the two. Facing the veranda, and in the ſame level, is a range of ſmall caves cut out of the ſouthern part of the rock, extending the whole length of the veranda, and perforating the eaſt end. In theſe caves are a number of figures in alto relievo, moſtly monſtrous; among whom are ſome of thoſe *Swammies* found in all the Gentoo pagodas, particularly that with the underparts of a man, and a head reſembling that of an elephant.

From the eaſt ſide of the large cave you enter, by a large door, another cave thirty feet by twenty-two with ſix pillars. On each ſide of the door are two large male figures nine feet in height, which, though much mutilated by folly, and defaced by time, bear evident marks of juſt proportions and no contemptible execution. They are both naked to the middle, round which is a broad chain with a garment under it, which deſcends in eaſy folds near the knees, and ties in a knot at the left hip, the ends of which deſcend almoſt as low as the ankle. From the left ſhoulder to the right hip acroſs the breaſt like a ſaſh, are a number of ſmall chains conjoined ſo as to form a bell which encreaſes in breadth till it meets what appears a large collection of a garment deſcending in looſe folds to the ground. The right arms of both theſe figures are partly broken off, but

from the poſition of one of the elbows, and ſome of the arm that remains, it is evident that the right hand was raiſed up to the ſhoulder, and I ſuppoſe held the end of the garment in the ſame manner as the figures at Cannara, with this difference, that there it was the *left hand*. The heads of each are ornamented with crowns; the hair falling in a number of curls over the neck; large ear-rings pendant to the ſhoulders, and necklaces ſeemingly of curious workmanſhip, ſo broad as to deſcend conſiderably down the breaſt. They have likewiſe bangles on both the ankles and the wriſts, with an ornament tied round the upper part of the left arm [ſomething reſembling the bracelets of the ancients]. The figure on the left ſide of the door has his left hand reſting on a dwarf, round the arms and body of which a number of ſnakes ſeem to twiſt. The dwarf, as far as I could judge, repreſents a figure loathſome and diſguſting; the head large, the face broad and apparently bloated; the belly ſwoln, and the legs and thighs deformed, and diſproportionably ſhort to the reſt of the body. To the left of the other figure, is a monſter with two heads nearly of the ſame ſize with the dwarf. From the ravages of time and ſeveral marks which plainly indicate ſtudied mutilation, all the parts of the large figures from the pelvis downward are ſo much defaced as to exclude all enquiry. Of their proportions in general we can eaſily judge; of their countenances nothing can be known. Above theſe figures, and occupying the weſt ſide of the cave laſt mentioned, are five groups of other figures in alto relievo, which though much decayed, ſtill leave ſuch marks of excellence, and diſplay perhaps ſuch characteriſtical ſtrokes of a people, that I cannot prevail on myſelf to paſs them over in ſilence.

The firſt group in the center and immediately over the door, repreſents a man ſitting croſs-legged with a crown on his head, and flowing curls. In his left hand he holds a ſceptre or mace; in

in his right, a roſary of beads: on each ſide of him ſit two old men of a moſt ſtriking expreſſion of countenance in the attitude of devotion; their beards long and terminating in a point, their eyes lifted up, and their hands raiſed to their breaſts, with a ſeeming fervour and enthuſiaſm. Two little boys with their hands claſpt kneel by their ſide. The two next groups to the right and left repreſent a number of female figures finely executed, two of whom ſupport each an angel hovering over the head of the man with the ſceptre in his hand. Theſe two women are in ſtature taller than the reſt, the breaſts like all the others, large and perfectly globular; the lower parts of the waiſt uncommonly ſmall with bellies prominent, or rather a remarkable hollow in the epigaſtric region; their attitudes perfectly elegant and eaſy. Their proportions on the whole may be called juſt, and the execution a capital piece of ſculpture. All theſe figures appear quite naked; a ſmall cincture round the waiſt reſembling a chain being the only ornament or covering on any part of the body.

The laſt group to the right of the door is much obliterated; the only figures diſcernible and remarkable are a male and female, with their right hands joined and hanging down below their waiſts. They both appear to be laughing; the woman's left hand is placed betwixt her breaſts, her head and face turned to the man with amorous expreſſion. She appears to be quite naked: but the man is ornamented with a number of ſtrings or ſhreds of cloth round different parts of his body, particularly his legs and thighs. His figure is eaſy and graceful, his left hand reſting in a becoming manner on his left hip. Behind the woman, to the right, a female figure, with two faces, ſits in the manner of the country, with the back part of her left hand touching the woman's poſteriors; her right hand graſps her right knee. To the left of

the man is one of thoſe dwarfs already deſcribed. The reſt of the figures were too much decayed to be diſtinguiſhed. The laſt group, to the left, repreſents a man, much larger than the reſt, ſitting croſſed-leged, a crown on his head with flowing curls; his head inclined to the left in a thoughtful poſition. This figure has four arms and four hands, the only one of the kind in theſe caves. One of the right arms is extended acroſs the body as if to receive ſomething; the other arm is placed nearer the back, the hand of which holds ſomething, round which a large ſnake is twiſted in a variety of folds. One of the left hands is turned up in an elegant poſition, and takes hold of ſomething I could not diſtinguiſh, but which appeared to be of a triangular form; the other ſeizes one of the horns of a bull or cow very well executed. A ſmall figure in the back ground near the top of the group has hold with both hands of a female's arm, the hand of which ſeizes the other horn of the bull. A little below two female figures, the one in a ſitting, the other in a reclining poſture, are executed in a ſtyle equally elegant and ſingular. The ſculptor indeed ſeems to have excelled himſelf in the execution of theſe two figures, which in eaſe, attitude, and ſymmetry would not perhaps diſgrace the genius of Michael Angelo. A male figure to the right ſtanding with ſomething in his hand reſembling a long wand, finiſhes this group, which is by much the moſt perfect and beautiful of the whole.

From this cave, which opens by a door to the eaſt, you enter an open ſpace in the rock, which by a flight of ſteps leads to another cave larger than the former, the pillars of which are almoſt quite decayed. In this cave there is one of thoſe Swammies already mentioned, painted or ſmeared over as they all are with ſome ſubſtance of a firey red colour, and ſtill worſhiped by the Gentoo inhabitants of Ambola. Several winding paſſages cut through the rock, lead from this cave to the top, in which

paſſages

paſſages there are wells or chambers of water, and another monſter or ſwammie ſomething ſimilar to the former. This part of the rock communicates with the other quite round the ſpace juſt mentioned, and forms a large ſemicircular hole or window cut in the front of the rock facing the eaſt, and which has no connection with any of the caves below. I ſhould ſuppoſe there muſt have been other communications, though no veſtige remains to ſupport the ſuppoſition; but indeed too few veſtiges remain to form a juſt idea of the magnificence and beauty of this amazing excavation, the extreme length of which, from weſt to eaſt, cannot be leſs than two hundred feet. Time, or perhaps ſome bad quality in the ſtone, has rendered it now but the ſkeleton of its former grandeur; and though we view with aſtoniſhment ſuch ſtupendous monuments of antiquity, and admire ſuch efforts of labour and ingenuity, we ſtill retire with a ſigh, impreſt with the folly of human pride, and the inſtability of all its boaſted greatneſs. The moſt extraordinary art has here been exerted to render the work of man ſuperior to the ravages of time. A new world ſeems to open by dint of labour into the bowels of the earth. The moſt magnificent domes and princely apartments riſe by the chiſel through maſſes of the moſt flinty hardneſs. The utmoſt luxuriance of fancy is exerted to beautify and adorn the whole, and no doubt to tranſmit a work of excellence to the admiration of the lateſt ages. The time however comes, when theſe, like all other human phantoms, vaniſh; when the object of our fondeſt wiſhes moulders into duſt, and when even the people, who ſtruggled ſo hard for immortality, are not only forgotten, but perfectly unknown.

" Oh ſons of earth, attempt ye ſtill to riſe
" By mountains piled on mountains to the ſkies?
" Heaven ſtill with laughter the vain toil ſurveys,
" And buries madmen in the heaps they raiſe."

Some

Some time elapſed before I had an opportunity of ſeeing Elephanta. This ſmall iſland is not above one mile in length; it lies about four or five miles to the N. E. of Bombay, and takes its name from the figure of an elephant cut out of ſtone, near a landing place at the S. W. end in your way to the caves. From this, you proceed about half a mile up a pretty ſteep aſcent, when you come in ſight of the ſea to the N. W. and then turning to the left up a rugged path you arrive at the ſummit of the hill or rock from which the caves are formed, and which, like Cannara, is concealed from your view by thick woods till you are within a few yards of the entrance. The principal door or entrance to this excavation, unlike the reſt, faces the *north*. It bears evident marks of great ornament, but time and particularly human folly have rendered it together with every other part of the cave a very imperfect picture of its former beauty. It is difficult to write with any degree of temper on the diſmal mutilations of this princely cavern, the ſtone of which is of ſuch a durable nature as to have in a great meaſure baffled the ravages of time. Moſt of the figures appear ſtill as freſh as if juſt from the chiſel, and had it not been for the ingenuity of human madneſs, the caves of Elephanta would at this hour have been not only a valuable key to many inexplicable appearances in the other caves, but a noble monument of ancient architecture and ſculpture. But what the hand of time has not been able to deface, the blind zeal of bigots and the childiſh tricks of fools have very nearly deſtroyed. During the power of the crown of Portugal in this country, no ſmall attention was paid to the extermination of idolatry, and amongſt the other objects of abhorrence that preſented themſelves to the prejudiced eye of ſuperſtition, was the cave of Elephanta. Whilſt this curious, though inexplicable piece of antiquity remained, true religion no doubt was conſidered as in danger. Figures ſtrange and

monſtrous in their appearance could not have been formed, but for the purpoſe of idolatry, nor ſuch immenſe caverns cut into the bowels of the earth, but through the influence of the Devil, and for the diabolical intent of offering up human ſacrifices at his ſhrine. Various attempts, it is ſaid, were made to mutilate and deface theſe damnable objects of diſguſt; but as the magnitude of the figures and uncommon hardneſs of the ſtone baffled the efforts of the godly, cannon were at length painfully dragged up the hill, and pointed againſt what Heathens would have defended at the hazard of their lives. Theſe are the effects of enthuſiaſm, and perhaps may claim the pity of mild philoſophy as the lamentable productions of ignorance, and a diſordered imagination. But what ſhall we ſay of thoſe, who neither fired by bigotry, nor actuated by the rage of making proſelytes, have wantonly diſplayed their ingenuity in lopping off heads, legs and arms from many of the moſt curious ſtatues; and unable to do any more miſchief by mutilation, have humouroufly beſmeared, bedaubed, and bepainted every figure in the cave, wiſely leaving their names behind them, as teſtimonies of their profeſſion, and the moſt ſatisfactory proofs of their ſtupidity and Gothic barbariſm. Such has been the conduct of Britons, and for the greater glory of the nation, let me alſo obſerve of thoſe heroes too who grace our fleets and armies in India, and who, while others repair to the cave of Elephanta as a rare and valuable curioſity, generally make parties there, for no other purpoſe than to feaſt, get drunk, and act ridiculouſly.

The great hall, or principal chamber of the cave of Elephanta, which you enter immediately on your croſſing the veranda to the north, is one hundred and twenty-nine feet in length, and ninety-four in breadth. It is adorned with four rows of pillars from north to ſouth, ſix in each row. Theſe pillars like thoſe at the other caves are of no known order, though

though they approach ſomething nearer the Doric than any other. They have all architraves with a capital reſembling a round cuſhion, preſſed flat as if by the incumbent weight of the roof. From the capital half way down, the pillar is fluted; thence it projects by way of baſe quadrilaterally to the bottom, five feet nine inches in length; the reſt of the pillar to the capital is about five feet; the height of the capital, one foot ſix inches; the circumference eighteen feet, the architrave nine inches in height, above which, joining the roof, another ornament like a cornice projects, and is about a foot in height. Theſe pillars are at the diſtance of fifteen feet from each other, and being but little decayed make a noble appearance. The height of the roof is fourteen feet nine inches, and, unlike the others, has three doors or communications; one to the eaſt, and two to the weſt, all of which are as high as the roof, and lead to two verandas, where two open ſquares ſeparate the rock, and enlighten the whole excavation.

Immediately fronting the entrance or north door of the great hall, at the ſouth end, and in a nich extending twenty feet in breadth, the eye is caught by an aſtoniſhing male figure or buſt, conſiſting of three faces or rather heads; four arms and hands, and a part of the body as low as the extremity of the breaſt bone. This prodigious maſs occupies the whole nich, the top of the higheſt crown almoſt reaching to the roof of the cave. The three faces front three different quarters, north, eaſt, and weſt. The middle one, or that fronting the north, ſeems to be the principal, the crown or cap being much more ornamented, and of a greater height than the other two. From the following meaſurement of this face, which I with difficulty accompliſhed, you may form ſome idea of the whole maſs, which I can aſſure you is an object not only of ſublimity but of terror. The length of the face from the

place

place where the crown reſts on the head to the chin, is four feet and a half; the breadth from ear to ear, ſix feet eight inches; the under lip is ſix inches thick: one of the fingers meaſured very near four feet in length, and of a proportionable thickneſs. The expreſſion of theſe three faces is different. That which we have juſt mentioned is (like moſt of the figures in all the caves) one of thoſe mild placid heavy countenances, from which you have little to expect and little to fear. The one facing the weſt expreſſes pleaſure, having a faint ſmile on the countenance, but otherwiſe very little animated. The third face, fronting the eaſt, is rather monſtrous, the forehead is contracted, the lips a little open with the tongue thruſt between them, the eye ſtaring, and the whole countenance expreſſive of diſguſt and anger: on the ſide of the crown of this head a death's head is repreſented. Theſe three heads though all joined in one maſs are perfectly diſtinct, each having a crown with hair deſcending in ringlets down the ſhoulders and back. The crown of the middle face fronting the entrance is, as I obſerved before, conſiderably higher than the other two, and reſembles in ſhape a grenadier's cap, ornamented in a moſt extraordinary manner. A necklace of curious workmanſhip and uncommon breadth deſcends half way down the breaſt. The body appears to be quite uncovered. One of the right arms of this immenſe figure is quite intire, the hand of which holds a *cobra capilla* or hooded ſnake of an enormous ſize, and exceedingly well executed: the head and neck are exactly in the poſition of that reptile when rouſed; the hood extended, the body twiſting round the arm, and down the right ſide. The hand is all that remains of the other right arm, which likewiſe holds a large hooded ſnake which is repreſented with a crown on its head. The hand of one of the left arms holds ſomething reſembling a bunch of flowers; the other a kind of fruit, in ſhape not unlike a pumpken. I forgot to ob-

ſerve that the figure fronting the eaſt had whiſkers, the only one which bore this mark of modern faſhion.

To the right of this buſt in another nich is a female figure at full length, inclining a little to the right with four arms. This figure has no right breaſt, the left is remarkably large, and of the ſame globular form with all the reſt; the hand of one of the right arms has hold of the horns of a bull finely executed, the other hand holds a cobra capella in a poſition uncommonly eaſy. One of the left arms is raiſed in a graceful manner to the ſhoulder, the hand of which holds by the thong a ſhield or target inverted, the convex part turned towards the ſhoulders; the other left arm is extended down the left thigh, the hand of which graſps ſomething, which from its mutilated ſtate cannot be diſcovered. The left arms of this amazonian figure are ornamented with double bracelets or bangles round the wriſts, and a ring on each finger; the right arms have only one bangle on the wriſt, and a ring on the little finger. Behind the bull is the head of an elephant with a number of ſmall figures in baſſo relievo, apparently ſitting, on his neck and ſhoulders.

On the left of the large buſt, in another nich, is a male figure at full length, his left hand reſting, or rather preſſing, on the head of one of thoſe deformed dwarfs already deſcribed, which, by the poſition of the body, and expreſſion of the countenance, ſeems to experience torture; in his right hand, like all the other dwarfs, there is a ſnake, which twines in a variety of folds round his arm and body. The large figure, from the belt or ſtring acroſs his left breaſt and ſhoulder, ſeems to be of the Bramin caſt. A number of figures preſent him with a variety of offerings, one of which is a fiſh. At his feet is a male figure kneeling, with his eyes raiſed up in the attitude of ſupplication. This laſt figure is the only complete ſlave found among theſe pieces of ſculpture. It is cut out of the rock, ſo as to be de-

tached from the wall, and to have its back parts all diſplayed, which are equally well executed with thoſe of the other figures in alto relievo. There is a knife in a ſheath at its right ſide. In this nich like all the others, there are an infinite number of ſmall figures in alto and baſſo relievo round the ſides and top, but ſo much decayed through time, and ſo crouded together, as to render deſcription impracticable. Theſe groups are all emblematical, and muſt have been executed with aſtoniſhing labour. One repreſentation very common in them is one figure ſitting aſtride on the ſhoulders of another, with the legs hanging down before. Several other male figures at full length, and from thirteen to fourteen feet in height, occupy the weſt ſide of the grand cave, and though much mutilated diſplay no contemptible proofs of ſculpture and proportion. They however expreſs nothing new or uncommon, and ſhall therefore for brevity's ſake be paſſed over. Indeed, were I deſirous to ſpin out my deſcription, the cave of Elephanta might furniſh ample food for the moſt ravenous antiquary. Every part teems with human forms; every wall ſeems to move with life obedient to the will of the artiſt, who ſeems

Saxa movere ſono teſtudinis, et prece blanda
Ducere quo vellet.

Proceeding through the eaſt door you enter the open ſquare already mentioned with a veranda to the ſouth, at the eaſt extremity of which is a dark apartment cut in the rock exactly the breadth of the veranda. In this apartment there is ſome water, two ſwammies, and a few figures ſo much decayed as not to be diſcernable by the light of a candle. The veranda is fifty-eight feet in length, with four pillars on each ſide, and a number of figures in alto relievo, the moſt remarkable of which is a large male ſtatue with four arms. He has a ſword by his left ſide very well executed, and hanging in an eaſy manner

from a garment twiſted round the loins. One of the right hands holds a cobra capella twiſted down his arm and ſide, the other right arm is broken off. One of the left hands preſſes on a dwarf, round the belly of whom, another cobra capella is twined with the head twiſted about to the left groin. The dwarf's ſituation is ſingular, and plainly evinces that theſe repreſent objects of puniſhment. On his head and neck is an immenſe bulk reſembling in ſhape a porter's knot; over which as an additional weight is another circular maſs of ſeveral feet diameter. The dwarf ſeems to experience great pain, his body bending under the load, his left hand graſping the cobra capella's tail. The remaining left arm of the large figure is raiſed up and ſupports a boy, which like another on the oppoſite ſide, bends over head in the attitude of angels. The head of this large figure is remarkable for the hair being in ringlets, wreathed into an infinite variety of forms. At the eaſt end of this veranda is another male figure much decayed, with a dwarf on each ſide. One of theſe has his hands folded over his breaſt in a deſponding poſition; the other holds in his left hand a fruit reſembling the cuſtard apple.

The weſt veranda is nearly the length of the great hall, and runs from north to ſouth. It is decorated with a number of figures all in alto relievo, the moſt remarkable and entire of which are thoſe at each end. At that to the north, on the right hand as you enter the firſt door leading to the veranda is a large nich, in which a very extraordinary figure is cut out, and which though ſhamefully mutilated, ſtill attracts the attention of the curious. This figure has eight arms; his body very much inclined to the left with his legs folded under him, but too much mutilated to diſtinguiſh their real poſition. Two of the arms are raiſed up, and ſupport a kind of canopy over head, above which are a number of figures ſitting croſs-legged in the attitude

of

of devotion. One of the right hands holds a ſword of juſtice, the other a bell, both of which are finely executed. A pedeſtal reſts upon, or is ſupported by one of the left hands, on which pedeſtal a ſmall figure almoſt deſtroyed, appears with an inclination of body nearly horizontal. This ſmall figure I have ſince been informed was leſs mutilated ſome years ago, and plainly repreſented a child with the head downwards as if intended for ſacrifice. The whole is thought to be a repreſentation of the judgment of Solomon, though I muſt confeſs I can ſee nothing to authorize the conjecture. The large figure indeed has a ſword in one hand, and a child in another; but if this piece of ſculpture was intended as a repreſentation of Solomon's admirable deciſion, where are the two women by whoſe conduct he was to detect impoſition, and where have we ever heard that Solomon had *eight hands and eight arms?* A group of figures at the oppoſite end of the veranda is too ſingular to be paſſed over in ſilence; with this I ſhall conclude my deſcription of Elephanta.

This group is in a nich on the left as you enter the ſouth door of the veranda; it is much leſs injured than any of the reſt, and as it expreſſes paſſion becomes therefore more valuable. A large male figure at full length, and ſeemingly of the Bramin caſt, ſtands by the ſide of a female; his eyes caſt down, and the whole countenance expreſſive of a timid expectation. The countenance of the female denotes perplexity and diſtreſs, her eyes downcaſt, her head hanging to the left, and her body evidently declining from the man. At her back is a male figure, his right hand reſting in an affectionate manner on her arm, a little below the ſhoulder; his head averted inclining to the right, and his countenance ſtill more expreſſive of ſorrow than the woman's. It appears to me as if this figure, while he feels ſenſibly for the woman's diſtreſs, urges her to what ſeems repugnant

pugnant to her inclination. In the ſame nich round the ſides are a number of other figures, which from their employments ſeem to be domeſtics, one in particular (a male) holds in both hands ſomething reſembling a vaſe or urn; his hair is in five regular curls, with a cap on his head, very different in elegance from the ornamented crowns of the other figures. To the right of the man ſtands a female with the ſame inſtrument held over her right ſhoulder, which is ſo often found in the hands of female figures here, and in all the other caves, and which from the effects of time I never could particularly diſtinguiſh before. It is compoſed of a ſmall taper ſhank with a large buſhy ſubſtance interwoven at the end, and hanging looſely down the back over the right ſhoulder. The appearance comes nearer a ſhip's ſwab than any thing elſe I know, and from what is at preſent uſed in the country, I ſhould ſuppoſe it repreſents the inſtrument for bruſhing away the flies. From the weſt veranda you enter an open ſpace of about ſixty feet ſquare, the ſouth ſide of which is excavated into a kind of ciſtern that extends a great way into the rock, and is ſtill ſupplied with water as far as the eye can trace. At the extremity or weſt end of this extenſive cave is another apartment ſimilar to that at the weſt end, in which are likewiſe ſeveral ſwammies and monſtrous figures almoſt obliterated.

I have now given you as plain and ſuccinct an account of the different excavations in the vicinity of Bombay as I could, and though I cannot flatter myſelf with having drawn a picture by which you can form a juſt idea of the original, the facts I have communicated may however enable you to judge of the uncommon labour beſtowed on thoſe ſubterraneous abodes, and the time that muſt have neceſſarily been taken in excavating and arranging the whole, and in beautifying and enriching every part with ſuch an incredible variety of ornaments. Compared

pared with theſe, the works of modern hands dwindle into the mere amuſements of children; nor can we view ſuch ſtupendous caverns cut out of ſolid rocks, and moulded into ſuch a variety of forms, without ſubſcribing our opinion to a bold aſſertion that ſuch laborious productions muſt have been the work of ages. Wherefore theſe Herculean labours were undertaken, or by whom they were executed, are facts not now to be aſcertained; being long ſince buried in the womb of time. Hiſtory affords not the moſt glimmering light to explore this dark paſſage of antiquity, and even tradition has not tranſmitted the moſt trivial circumſtance to ſupply us with a rational conjecture on the ſubject. Many and various are the opinions formed, but none of them carries the ſmalleſt conviction along with it. The judgment is conſtantly bewildered amidſt the *contradictory proofs* produced by the very repreſentations we mean to examine; and while we ſeize with ardour on circumſtances that ſeem to favour an hypotheſis, ſome intruding witneſs unluckily ſtarts up and overturns the whole ſyſtem. Thus for inſtance, ſhould we aſcribe theſe ſurpriſing labours to the Gentoos, no ſimilarity either in *feature* or in *dreſs* to the preſent race of that people is any where to be found. If to the Egyptians or Ethiopians, whom they ſeem to reſemble moſt: whence the objects of worſhip in theſe caves ſo diſſimilar to thoſe of that nation, namely the elephant, cow, and ſwammie, all of which are worſhiped in India, and univerſally found in every Gentoo pagoda? To perplex us ſtill more, on the ſide of one of the doors that lead to the grand cave at Elephanta, is a long inſcription in the *Perſian* character, but importing nothing that throws the leaſt light on the ſubject. As to the dreſs of all the figures in the different caves, it bears no reſemblance to either Gentoo, African, Perſian, or Arabian. The bangles and ear-rings are the only ornaments that come near modern faſhion; and what is

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ſomething extraordinary, the moſt ancient part of dreſs, the *turban*, is no where to be found, or any thing that bears the moſt diſtant reſemblance of it. Every thing, however, convinces us, that theſe figures muſt have repreſented ſome particular people, and that they muſt have all been the work of the ſame nation. The ſame flat, broad, good-natured, heavy countenance, with the thick under lip; the ſame dreſs, the ſame attitudes, and nearly the ſame ornaments reign throughout, particularly in the larger and moſt oſtenſible figures. With regard to feature, it muſt be allowed that it approaches much nearer the Ethiopian than any other people; and conſidering the early taſte for ſculpture that prevailed amongſt the ancient Egyptians, the many examples of ſimilar excavations found in that country, the wandering diſpoſition of the people, and their ambition to diffuſe their arts and ſciences over the globe; an ingenious theoriſt, with ſuch materials alone, might build no contemptible ſtructure. He might perhaps ſtill add ſomething to its ſolidity by maintaining, that the excavations already deſcribed muſt have been the work of ſome ſet of men long ſince extinct in India; that in ſuppoſing them of Gentoo origin, the veil of obſcurity ſhould inſtantly drop, ſince it can hardly be imagined that ſo total a change in dreſs and feature ſhould take place among any ſet of men, or that thoſe who, from time immemorial, have inhabited India, ſhould now not only be ignorant of the inſtitutions of their forefathers, but altogether ſtrangers to the origin of works ſo vaſt in the undertaking, and ſo particularly calculated for national purpoſes. That however capricious or fluctuating the modes of faſhion may be, the human countenance ſeldom or never undergoes material changes, but is the invariable guide by which we trace not only national feature, but family reſemblance. That if the ſculptors of the different caves were able to execute

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ſuch a number of figures whoſe countenances ſo nearly reſemble each other, it is a pretty clear proof that they could have, with the ſame eaſe, repreſented the national feature of any people whatever; and that, if theſe figures are to be conſidered as certain prototypes of any ſet of Gentoos now exiſting, it muſt be a ſet of Gentoos different in feature and in dreſs from any hitherto found in the peninſula of India.

Theſe obſervations, however apparently incontrovertible, tend little to ſolve the difficulty. On the other hand, much might be advanced to prove the impoſſibility of theſe excavations being the work of Egyptians, and at the ſame time to ſupport the opinion of a Gentoo origin. Were we to give the utmoſt latitude to theory and fancy, the idea of their being the work of Egyptians muſt fall to the ground. We ſhall trace the ancient Chaldeans (whom we ſhall likewiſe admit to be the Egyptian root) from the banks of the Euphrates to the banks of the Nile. We ſhall allow that, in this progreſs, they occupied the whole continent of Arabia for a conſiderable time; and that, after penetrating Ethiopia by the Erythrean gulf, they at laſt got poſſeſſion of Egypt, and the whole coaſt of Africa on the Mediterranean, even to the Atlantic Ocean. We ſhall go ſo far as to ſuppoſe that this people in their peregrinations viſited and ſettled a colony in Salſet, and that they reſided there many years, and by ſome unaccountable event became extinct, or migrated to other countries. After giving theſe latitudes (and I think they are pretty large), it by no means proves the excavations in queſtion to be the workmanſhip of theſe ancient ſculptors. On the contrary, ſolid and ſubſtantial objections occur to overturn any ſuch ſuppoſition; objections that ariſe not from either theory or whim, but from the law of nature, and the hiſtory of mankind. Among the various changes in nations, from barbariſm to civilization, religion always is the

moſt immutable. The human mind ſhrinks with horror from the ſmalleſt change in matters accounted ſacred, and the removal of a block, or a ſtone, has often been attended with more bloody wars than the deſtruction of a city.

That the Chaldeans were idolaters is true; but their objects of worſhip were certainly different from any thing we meet with in the caves of Salſet or Elephanta; and, notwithſtanding many appearances to the contrary, I am ſtill inclined to think, that theſe caves muſt have been the work of Gentoos, and that for the following reaſons:

In the firſt place, though we find little or no ſimilarity between the general formation of theſe ſubterraneous abodes and the preſent Gentoo places of worſhip, we perceive a ſtriking reſemblance in many particulars. Though their pagodas are not excavated in rocks, they are, however, all highly ornamented with figures and carving, which, whether in ſtone or in wood, generally occupy every part of the external ſurface of the building. In the ſecond place, though their objects of worſhip are neither ſo numerous nor ſo aſtoniſhing as thoſe found in the different caves, there are many almoſt exactly alike, namely, the Swammies with the Elephant's head, and thoſe figures with four, ſix, and eight arms, invariably found in every pagoda. Thirdly, the *ſanctum ſanctorum* has the ſame mark in both, i. e. the large ſtone in the form of a mauſoleum; and, laſtly, the ſame repreſentation of favorite animals, ſome of which are peculiar to the country. Independent of theſe ſtriking reſemblances we find many of the figures at Elephanta with the bramin's ſtring over the breaſt and ſhoulder, not to mention the bangles and large ear-rings, which, though parts of the preſent Gentoo dreſs, are likewiſe worn by both Moors and Perſees. But, perhaps, the ſtrongeſt proof that can be adduced in favour of a Gentoo origin, is the preſent race of that people ſtill wor-

ſhiping in the caves of Ambola and Elephanta. Of all the different caſts in India, the Gentoo is the moſt completely fettered with religious prejudices, and the moſt ſedulous in preſerving their ſanctuaries, and even their houſes, from the pollution of ſtrangers. It can hardly then be imagined that a ſet of people, ſo very tenacious of their purity in matters of ſuch ſeeming importance, ſhould repair to any cave for the purpoſes of divine worſhip, without an aſſurance that ſuch cave was originally intended for that particular uſe. The Gentoos, however, ſeem to know as little of the matter in diſpute as any other ſect; nor can any man be found who can explain the meaning of a ſingle figure, or explore the emblematical ſenſe of a ſingle groupe. Theſe obſervations naturally occurred in treating a ſubject which you muſt allow to be curiouſly inexplicable. If they tend nothing to unravel the myſtery, they cannot add to its obſcurity; if they afford the ſmalleſt light to guide or encourage the learned in further reſearches, the writer of the preſent little Eſſay muſt account himſelf highly rewarded.

HECTOR MACNEIL.

NOTES,

Principally by a Friend of the Author.

P. 151.

"On the ſituation of the Iſland Salſet we may obſerve it is remarkable that almoſt all nations have conſecrated iſlands to the Deities, and have made them the peculiar ſcenes of religious adoration. The Britiſh Druids had choſen Mona, or Angleſey, as the principal reſidence of their order. See Tacit. Annal. cap. xxx. lib. 14. Rowland's Mona illuſtr. paſſim. Dionyſius Periegetes, ver. 570. mentions a cluſter of Iſlands in the German Ocean, oppoſite to Britain, to which the wives of the Amnitae repaired annually to celebrate the *orgia*, or rites of Bacchus. Moſt of the ſmall iſlands in the neighbourhood of Greece and Aſia Minor were conſecrated to particular Deities: Delos to Apollo; Cythera, to Venus; Samos, to Juno; Chios, to Bacchus; Rhodes, to the Sun, &c. The famous Temple of Jupiter Ammon, in Africa, was ſituated on a beautiful verdant ſpot, reſembling an iſland, in the middle of a vaſt ſandy deſart. See Herodot. lib. II. cap. xlii. Diod. Sic. lib. XVII. p. 588. ed. Steph. Quint. Curt. lib. IV. cap. vii. The temple of the Sun, at Palmyra, was ſimilarly ſituated. See Wood's Ruins of Palmyra. The temple of Canobus, at the Canobic mouth of the Nile, was built on an iſland; and all over Egypt many temples were raiſed on iſlands, in the midſt of their artificial lakes. Nearchus, Alexander's admiral, mentions ſeveral of theſe ſacred iſlands in his account of his voyage along the coaſt of the Indian Ocean. Even the Chriſtians adopted the ſame practice. It appears therefore highly probable, that the Iſland of Salſet was one of thoſe ſacred retreats to which the ancient Hindoos repaired to pay their devotions to the Deities of the country."

"The cavern at Salſet faces the Eaſt."

"All the heathen temples fronted the Eaſt. The ſun being the grand object of religious worſhip among the Zabians, or worſhipers of *the Hoſt of Heaven*, all proſtrations were performed towards the Eaſt. The chc-

choruſes which danced and ſung the hymns in the Heathen temples began their motions from the Eaſt. Among the Greeks and Romans lucky omens proceeded from the Eaſt.—In oppoſition to this practice, both the Jewiſh Tabernacle and Temple fronted the Weſt."

" In utter darkneſs." p. 260.

"The Adyta, or Holy of Holies, of the Heathen temples, were always dark, except when illuminated with flambeaus, &c. The ſtatue of the Deity was lodged there, to conceal it from the view of the vulgar and profane. The ſacred myſteries were performed there, ſometimes by torch-light, ſometimes in the dark. The grand hall, therefore, being the *penetrale*, or *Holy of Holies*, might actually be without windows for the admiſſion of light."

This remark, though ingenious, is not ſatisfactory; for, ſhould we even ſuppoſe the grand hall to have been the adytum of ancient worſhipers, and that from the appearance of the wooden work, together with the lamp-holes cut round the pagoda, this place was actually excluded from any other light than that of artificial illumination, we can neither account for the intention of executing, with ſo much apparent labour, the three large windows above, nor the innumerable ornaments which decorate every pillar below.

" The figures occupy the front of the Veranda." p. 261.

" It was an univerſal practice, among the Orientals, to pourtray the figures of their Deities on the walls of their temples. See Ezekiel, VIII. 16. The Egyptians, though clumſy ſtatuaries compared with the Hindoos, had the ſtatues of their Deities placed in niches in the walls of their temples, as appears from Herod. lib. II. and Diod. Sic. lib. I. paſſim.

" Of the Dwarfs, mentioned p. 264, we may obſerve that theſe beings ſeem to have ſprung up in the Perſian romances, which every where abound with them. They are the creatures of Oriental imagination, and were introduced into our books of chivalry from the Eaſt, in conſequence of our correſpondence with theſe people during the Cruſades."

P. 279.

P. 279.

"I do not imagine, either that the Indians derived the model of the caves from the Egyptians, or that this people ever over-ran, much leſs planted, colonies on the coaſt of India. The expedition of Seſoſtris is the mere produce of Egyptian vanity. At the ſame time, the Egyptians in the moſt early ages were averſe to commerce. They dreaded the ſea above all things, and called it Typhon, or the evil genius. See Plutarch de Iſide et Oſiride paſſim.

"The Indian ſtatues are handſomely executed. The Egyptian ſtatues were clumſy, monſtrous, and inartificial. This was owing to an Egyptian law, making it capital to introduce any innovation in the muſic, pictures, and ſtatues, which belonged to religion. See Plato de legibus, lib. II. p. 789. In conſequence of this prohibition, the muſic of the Egyptians continued rude and barbarous; and the arts of painting and ſtatuary were abſolutely ſtationary for a vaſt ſeries of years, i. e. from the foundation of their monarchy, to the æra of the Lagidæ. This circumſtance furniſhes a ſtrong preſumption that the Hindoos did not copy from the Egyptians.

"There is, however, another nation from which it is probable that both the Egyptians and the Hindoos took their model. The Ethiopians were early a great and a flouriſhing people. They were, in particular, celebrated for their piety and religion. Homer every where dignifies them with the title of the *juſteſt of men*, the *moſt devout of men*, and, upon every occaſion, ſends his divinities to revel and carouſe with the Ethiopians. Accordingly, Diodorus Siculus, lib. III. init. informs us, that this people pretended that they were the firſt who taught mankind how to honour the gods; the rites and ceremonies to be obſerved in ſacrificing; the manner of conducting pomps and proceſſions in honour of the Gods, &c. on which account their piety and juſtice was highly celebrated all over the world. They maintained that the Egyptians were their coloniſts; Ib. p. 101. ed Steph. that the cuſtoms and inſtitutions eſtabliſhed among them were the ſame with theirs; that many of the figures of their ſtatues were actually of the Ethiopian caſt; and that the

the ſacred letters of the Egyptians were the vulgar characters of the Ethiopians. For this ſee alſo Heliod. Ethiop. lib. IV. p. 174. Indeed the learned are in general agreed that the Egyptians were actually a colony of Ethiopians; and this is the more probable, as it is morally certain that the Lower Egypt was in the earlieſt ages quite overflowed by the ſea, which rendered it inacceſſible on that ſide. This hypotheſis, in itſelf highly probable, is in a manner demonſtrated by the author of Rech. Philoſoph. ſur les Egypt. et les Chinois, Berlin 1773. That the Egyptians imitated the Ethiopians in ſtatuary, &c. cannot therefore be accounted ſurpriſing, nor will it appear altogether chimerical, that the inhabitants of certain parts of India copied likewiſe after this ingenious people, when the following circumſtances are attended to.

" That there were two nations of Ethiopians, the one in Africa, the other in India, appears from various authorities. Homer mentions it often. See alſo Strabo, lib. I. p. 35. Caſaub. ib. p. 35. 101. 103. et paſſ. p. 33. Herod. lib. VII. cap. 70. Pauſan lib. I. p. 81. where the hiſtorian mentions one characteriſtic difference between the African and Indian Ethiopians, namely, that the former had curled, and the latter lank hair. Euſeb. Chron. p. 12. mentions an Ethiopia which looks towards the Indies. Arrian, Hiſt. Ind. p. 322. obſerves, that the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt of India differed very little in their appearance from the Ethiopians of Africa, being of the ſame dark complection, but without woolly hair. See alſo Pomponius Mela. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 43. Iarchus of India tells Apollonius Philoſtratus, vit. Apol. p. 123. that the Ethiopians were actually an *Indian* nation. Euſeb. Chron. p. 26. obſerves, that ſome Ethiopians, leaving their *native* country on the banks of the Indies, came and ſettled in Egypt. Apollonius of Tyanea, finding that the Ethiopians ſpoke highly of the Indians, told them, that they were themſelves originally Indians. See Philoſtr. p. 227. And Nilus the Egyptian tells Apollonius, that the Indians were of all people in the world the moſt knowing; that the Ethiopians were a colony from them; and that they inherited the wiſdom of their forefathers."

Theſe quotations ſeem to prove, not only that the Ethiopians muſt have anciently colonized a great part of the ſea-coaſt of India, but that they had mingled ſo intimately with the inhabitants of theſe parts as to have become at laſt the ſame people. How far this may account for that reſemblance

reſemblance to Ethiopian feature found in the different caves, is ſubmitted to the conſideration of the learned. It is further remarked, by the ingenious gentleman who has favoured the author with theſe obſervations, that the round breaſts, and the ſymptoms that diſtinguiſh the waiſts of the female, are ſtill deſcernible in the ſex among the modern Abyſſinians. We are however ſtill in the dark. For, ſhould we aſcribe theſe excavations to the Ethiopians *previous* to their mingling with the natives, whence, or wherefore, the objects of *Gentoo* worſhip? if after a *complete incorporation* (a circumſtance that ſtill requires farther proof), whence invariably the Ethiopian feature, and a dreſs different from either Ethiopian or Gentoo? To ſay that this *might* have been the ancient dreſs of the ſuppoſed mungrel breed, is begging the queſtion. That a people ſimilar in dreſs and in feature to the repreſentations in the different caves once exiſted, is what I have little doubt of; but till ſuch time as experience or chance point out a reſemblance to certain feature and *coſtume*, we labour in vain to remove the veil by forming hypotheſes. The Ethiopians indeed might have long inhabited the greateſt part of the ſea-coaſt of India from the river Indus to Cape Comorin. They were themſelves a colony of Cuſhites who inhabited the Eaſt and S. E. coaſt of Arabia [*a*], and the navigation acroſs the red ſea to Ethiopia was ſhort and eaſy. But it is not the ſea coaſt alone where excavations and ſculpture in rock are met with. India, I have been informed, can produce many, if not of equal workmanſhip with thoſe deſcribed in the preſent eſſay, at leaſt equally aſtoniſhing for the extent of the excavations, and the magnitude of the ſtatues [*b*]. That the ancient Indians

[*a*] See Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. lib. I. cap. 7. p. 11. l. 16. ab ima pag. ed. Gr. Baſil. informs us, that the Ethiopians were the deſcendants of Cuſh, and that all the people in Aſia even in his time called that people *Cuſhim*. The language of the Ethiopians was a kindred dialect of the Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabian, Phœnician. See Walton's Prolegom. Gale's Court of the Gentiles, vol. I. lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 90. par. 12. Bochart Can. lib. 1. cap. 15. Hottengeri Smegma ling. Orien. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 81. Accordingly a vaſt number of names of countries, nations, cities, iſlands, rivers, mountains, &c. over all India every where occur in ancient writers, which to a perſon verſed in theſe languages will at once appear to belong to one or other of them. To the learned gentleman already mentioned, I am alſo indebted for this note.

[*b*] At Gualeor there are figures in alto relievo cut out of rock, many of which I am informed are above ſeventy feet in height. Gualeor lies in 69. E. long. 25. 45. N. lat.

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poſſeſſed talents ſufficient for ſuch ingenious undertakings, appears evident from the teſtimonies of various writers. " All the antient authors (ſays the writer of theſe notes) who mention them, beſtow the higheſt encomiums on their wiſdom, religion, policy, ingenuity, and ſuperior ſkill in arts, ſciences, mechanics, &c. [c]. Dionyſius, author of the Periegeſis, or tour round the world, concludes his work with a deſcription of their habits, manners, rites, induſtry and knowledge executed with ſuch harmony of numbers, and ſuch a glow of imagination as would have done honour to the pen of a Homer.—A good tranſlation of that beautiful paſſage would deſerve high commendation—it begins at ver. 1088. and continues to the end."

[c] See Diodorus Siculus ed. Steph. lib. 11. p. 15. et ſeqq. Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 98—108. Cteſiæ excerpta annexed to Herodotus, p. 656. et ſeqq. Strabo, lib. 15. p. 689. ed. Caſaub. Philoſtr. vit. Apol. Tyan. ubi ſupra. Arriani hiſt. Indica paſſim. Quint. Curtius Megaſthenes, &c.

XXV. *Account of an antient Inſcription in* North America. *By the Rev.* Michael Lort, *D. D. V. P. A. S.*

Read November 23, 1786.

THE monuments of antient art noticed in North America have been ſo few, that the diſcovery of any ſuch has a particular claim to the attention of the learned in any part of the globe. When therefore I had found in a publication in that part of it [*a*], the following reference made to an antient inſcription

[*a*] A ſermon preached before his Excellency Jonathan Trumbull, Eſq. L. L. D. governor and commander in chief, and the honourable general aſſembly of Connecticut, convened at Hertford at the anniverſary election, May 8, 1783, by Ezra Stiles, D. D. preſident of Yale College, Newhaven, printed by Thomas and Samuel Green, 1783, 8vo. pp. 200. Perhaps it may not be amiſs to mention how this inſcription came to be noticed in a ſermon preached before the governor and ſtate of Connecticut.

The ingenious preacher, fired with the idea of a new and extenſive empire riſing in America, ſuppoſes that the celebrated prophecy of Noah concerning his ſons, and the future fate of their deſcendants, being at preſent in part only fulfilled, is to meet with its full and final completion in America.

The prophecy runs thus, Geneſis ix. 25, 6, 7.

" Curſed be Canaan; a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be to his brethren.—" Bleſſed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan ſhall be his ſervant.—God " ſhall enlarge Japheth, and he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan " ſhall be his ſervant."

Theſe three ſons of Noah are ſuppoſed to have peopled the three parts of the world, Africa, Aſia, and Europe.

Some of the deſcendants of Ham and of Canaan ſettled in Africa have been long ſervants to the deſcendants of Shem and of Japheth ſettled in Aſia and Europe; but the prophecy of the territories of Japhet being enlarged, Dr. Stiles ſuppoſes is to take place by the deſcendants of Japheth ſpreading over America, as they have done over Europe, and wholly extirpating the native Indians.

Theſe

tion diſcovered on a rock in Taunton River in Narraganſet Bay, I thought this an object worthy the attention of the Society. In page 12 the learned Author writes thus:

"The Phœnicians charged the Dighton and other rocks in "Narraganſet Bay with Punic inſcriptions remaining to this "day, which laſt I myſelf have repeatedly ſeen and taken off "at large, as did profeſſor Sewell. He has lately tranſmitted a "copy of this inſcription to Mr. Gebelin of the Pariſian Aca- "demy of Sciences, who, comparing them with the Punic "paleography, judges them to be Punic, and has interpreted "them as denoting that the antient Carthaginians once viſited "theſe diſtant regions."

Theſe Indians he ſuppoſes to be the deſcendants of Canaan, who being expelled by Joſhua and the Iſraelites from the land of Canaan, did ſome of them wander to and ſettle in America. As a foundation, in part, for this hypotheſis, he introduces theſe Naraganſet rocks with inſcriptions on them, which, being, as he imagines, in the old Punic or Phœnician character and language, he thinks were the work of the original ſettlers of that nation. After diſcuſſing this matter at large, he ſays, "The European population ſo far ſurpaſſes them (the Indians) already, "that of whatever origin they came, they will eventually be, as the moſt of "them have already become, ſervants unto Japheth. We are increaſing with "great rapidity, and the Indians as well as the million Africans in America "are decreaſing as rapidly: both left to themſelves in this way diminiſhing "may gradually vaniſh, and thus an unrighteous ſlavery, may in God's good "providence be aboliſhed and ceaſe in this land of liberty."

One more prediction I will take the liberty of recording here, "The rough "ſonorous diction of the Engliſh language may here take its Athenian poliſh, "and receive its Attic urbanity, as it will probably become the vernacular "tongue of more numerous millions than ever yet ſpoke a language on earth."

"God in his providence has ordered, that at the Reformation the Engliſh "tranſlation of the Bible ſhould be made with greater accuracy than any other "tranſlation. It may have been deſigned by Providence for the future peruſal "of more millions than ever were able to read any one book, and for their "uſe to the millenian ages."

This extract was accompanied with the only copy of the inſcription I was then acquainted with, as it appears in the eighth volume of M. Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*, and together with the copy of the inſcription, I exhibited alſo the interpretation given by this celebrated writer [*b*].

Having ſince found that copies of it had been ſent, at different times by different perſons, both to the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, though no notice had been taken thereof in the printed Memoirs of either Society, except a very ſlight one in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year 1714; I have therefore, from the minute books of each Society, collected together theſe different accounts, and, together with the drawings which accompanied them, ſubmit them to the inſpection of this learned body; and by their means, if it ſhall be thought proper, to the world at large; thereby affording an opportunity to any perſon who ſhall be inclined to examine and compare them with M. Gebelin's interpretation, and may not be ſatisfied therewith, to favour the world with a different one.

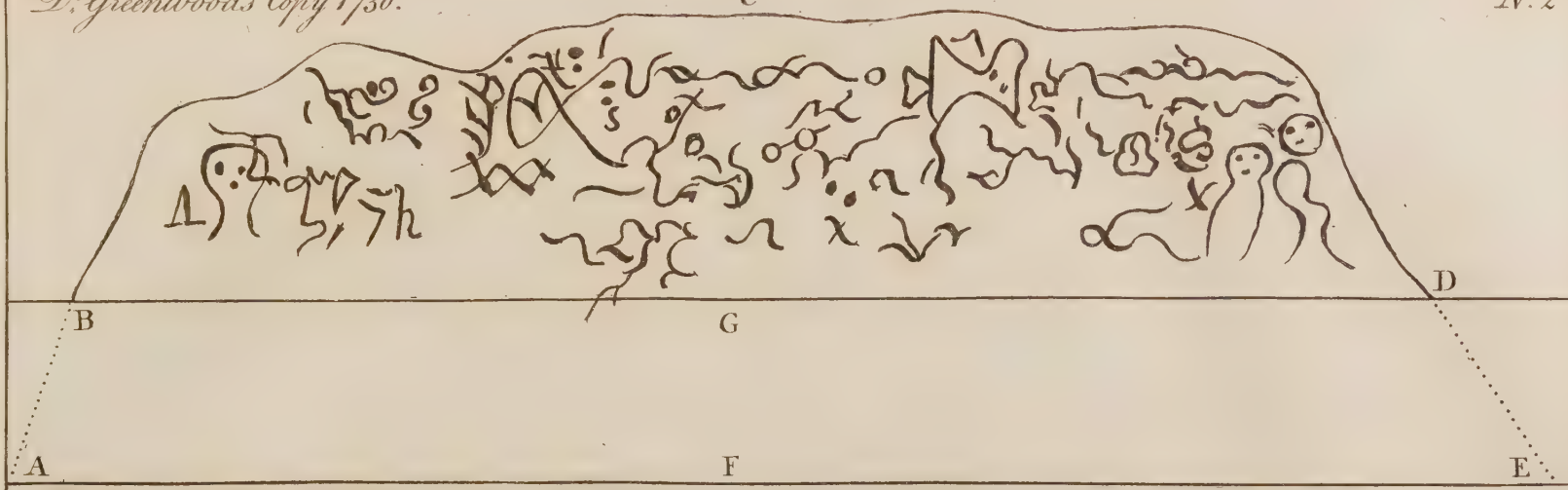
[*b*] M. Court de Gebelin, ſon of a paſtor at Lauſanne, and born there in 1727, came to Paris in 1763, where ſome years after he put out propoſals for a large work to be publiſhed by ſubſcription, entituled, *Le Monde Primitif analysé et comparé avec le Monde moderne, ou Recherches ſur l'Antiquité du Monde.*

This work meeting with great encouragement was extended to nine volumes in 4to, when his health being much impaired by too ſevere an application to his ſtudies, he was forced for a time to intermit them, and applied to the celebrated magnetic doctor M. Meſmer for relief, by whoſe operations he flattered himſelf he had received ſo much that he addreſſed a memoir to his ſubſcribers in 1783, reckoned one of the ableſt defences of M. Meſmer and his operations; but he relapſed, and being removed to Mr. Meſmer's houſe died there in 1784, which occaſioned the following lines:

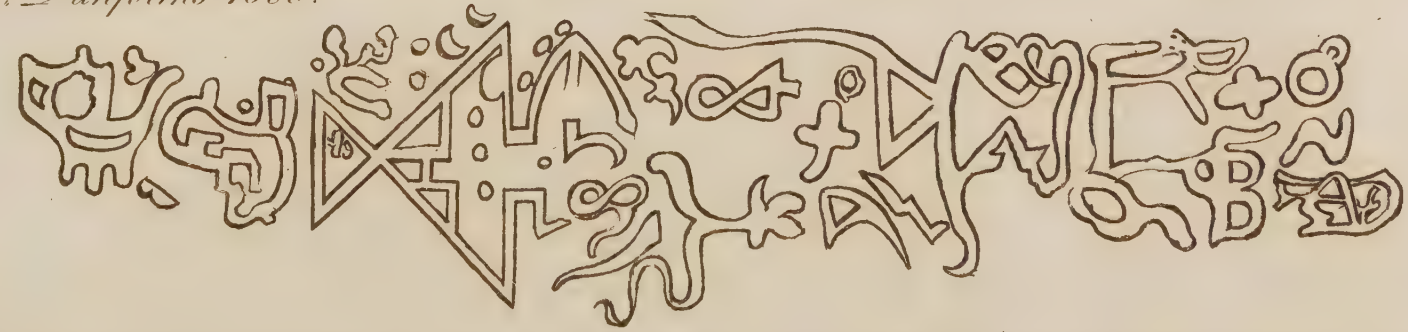
Cy git ce pauvre Gebelin,
Qui parloit Grec, Hebreu, Latin.
Admirez tous ſon heroiſme,
Il fût martyr de magnetiſme.

From

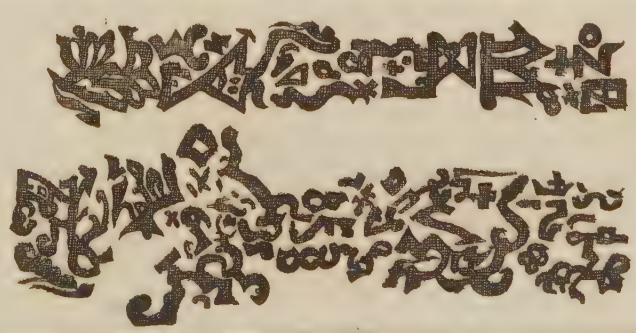
Dr Greenwood's Copy 1730. No. 2



Dr Danforth's 1680. No. 3



Dr Cotton Mather's 1712. No. 1



From the minutes of this Society it appears that a drawing of this inſcription had been made ſo long ago as the year 1680 by Dr. Danforth; but the firſt public notice I can find taken of it in this country, is in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year 1714, N° 339. The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather of Boſton in New England, in a letter addreſſed to Dr. Waller, Secretary of the Royal Society, dated November 12, 1712, amongſt other pieces of literary information, gives the following:

"At Taunton, by the ſide of a tiding river, part in, part "out of the river, there is a large rock, on the perpendicular "ſide of which, next to the ſtream, are ſeven or eight lines, "about ſeven or eight feet long, and about a foot wide, each "of them engraven with unaccountable characters, not like "any known character. I have not yet been able to procure "the whole, but have ſent a copy of two of them." See Plate XVIII. N° 1.

It does not appear that Dr. Mather communicated any thing farther on this ſubject to the Royal Society; but in the year 1732, Mr. Bogdani, a member of this Society, exhibited a drawing of it made by Dr. Danforth in 1680; and another of a later date by Dr. Iſaac Greenwood, Holliſian Profeſſor at Cambridge, in New England; Pl. XVIII. N° 3 and 2. with an extract of a letter from this gentleman to the Rev. Mr. Villan, Rector of St. John's, Tothillfields, in the following words:

"I am informed that, at ſome extraordinary tides, the water "ebbs below the rock; and ſome perſons of undoubted veracity "belonging to the town aſſure me, that the river has been "conſtantly encroaching on that part of the beach, ſo as to "waſte the adjacent lands; which, ſince the memory of many "now living, is ſomething more diſtant from the rock than "formerly, though now but a few feet; and that there are "the like figures for ſome feet under the preſent ſurface of the "beach.

" beach, which is marked in the drawing AE. In deter-
" mining the characters, or figures, I found ſome difficulty;
" for the indentures, at preſent, are not very conſiderable, nor
" I think equally deep, which put me upon the following rule,
" viz. carefully to trace out and chalk all ſuch places, and
" thoſe only, which I really believed indentures; and in this
" part I deſired the reviſal and aſſiſtance of the Rev. Mr. Fiſher
" and others: many places were paſſed over which did not
" ſeem to be indentures as to the eye, though remarkably diſ-
" coloured by ſome adherent matter; in correſponding figures
" to the reſt, I thought it more adviſeable to give ſuch parts of
" theſe characters as were real, that thereby the whole might
" be obtained, than to run the riſk of a conjectural deſcription,
" which would certainly have endangered the diſcovered parts;
" and for this reaſon I muſt alſo note that the figures are not
" all ſo well defined as I have expreſſed them; the bounds be-
" ing ſcarcely perceivable in ſome of them; the ſtrokes may
" be alſo ſomething, though very little broader, their direction
" being chiefly what I aimed at. Time is ſuppoſed to have
" gradually impaired them, and one of advanced years in the
" town told me, that he was ſenſible of ſome alteration ſince
" his memory; and for this reaſon I have alſo ſent you N° 3,
" which is a drawing of ſome part of this inſcription, taken by
" the Rev. Mr. Danforth, in 1680. This gentleman obſerves,
" with relation to it, that there was a tradition went current
" with the oldeſt Indians, that there came a wooden houſe,
" and men of another country in it, ſwimming upon the river
" *Aſſoonet*, as this was then called, who fought the Indians
" with mighty ſucceſs, &c.

" This, I think, evidently ſhews that this monument was
" eſteemed by the oldeſt Indians, not only very antique, but
" a work of a different nature from any of theirs. It may not

" be improper to add here, that this place was one of the moſt " conſiderable ſeats of the Indians in this part of the world, " and the river very remarkable for all ſorts of fowl and fiſh.

" N° 2. Pl. XVIII. A. B. C. D. E. repreſent the face of the " rock, being a plain nearly perpendicular to the horizon, look- " ing north by weſt; in length from B to D eleven feet, and " in depth from C to F four feet and a half. This ſeems to " have been left by nature very ſmooth, and is certainly in " its ſurface very uniform, compact, and durable. B. G. D. " repreſent the ſurface of the water at the time of obſervation.

" N° 3. is the inſcription as taken by Dr. Darnforth in 1680."

Thus far from the minutes of this Society, in which I can find no farther notice taken of this inſcription; but from the Minutes of the Royal Society for the year 1775, it appears that a new copy of the inſcription, with the following account thereof, was delivered in to that Society [*c*].

" Some years ſince the late Mr. Eames applied to Mr. Ti- " mothy Hollis, to write to Mr. Winthrope, Holliſian Pro- " feſſor of Mathematics at Cambridge in New England, at " the deſire of a gentleman at Berlin, or ſome part of Germany, " of great learning and knowledge in languages, to procure a " more accurate copy of the inſcription on the rock at Dighton. " Mr. Hollis did write accordingly, but never received an an- " ſwer; and Mr. Eames dying ſoon after, nothing further was " done in it. Laſt ſummer, Mr. Hollis being favoured with " a viſit from Mr. Bernard, this matter happened to be men- " tioned, and, in conſequence thereof, Mr. Hollis has been " favored with a letter from Mr. Winthrope, with a copy of " the inſcription; of which letter is the following extract:

[*c*] A ſhort abſtract only appears in the minutes, but I was favoured with a ſight of the whole paper by Timothy Hollis, Eſq. of Great Ormond Street.

" Cam-

" Cambridge, in New England, Nov. 14, 1774.

" I went to ſee this rock above 30 years ago, and then took " an imperfect copy of the inſcription, and ſaw it again laſt " ſpring; ſome copies of it have formerly been taken; part of " one may be ſeen in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 339. " where it is repreſented in two diſtinct lines. The rock is " of a dark reddiſh color, ſtanding on the brink of Taunton " river, about forty-three miles ſouth of Boſton. The face " of it next the river is plane, not perpendicular, but reclining " backward. The inſcription almoſt fills this plane ſide. When " I ſaw it laſt, the tide covered all but the upper part of it. " According to the beſt of my remembrance, the characters do " not appear ſo plain now as they did about thirty years ago. " About ſix years paſt, Mr. Sewell, our Profeſſor of Hebrew, " and other Oriental languages, took the moſt exact copy of " it, that I believe was ever taken, as large as the original, and " which is now depoſited in our Muſeum. A copy of this, re- " duced by Mr. Sewell, I have now the honour of ſending to " you, through Mr. Barnard's hands, to be preſented to the " Royal Society, if you think proper. I wiſh the learned gen- " tlemen of that Society may be able to throw any light upon " it, or diſcover any ſimilarity between theſe and any other " known characters or hieroglyphics. There ſeem to be in it " four human figures, though very rudely executed. Thoſe " on the left hand have ſome appearance of a woman and a " child by her. Thoſe on the right are nearly of a bigneſs; " on the lower ſide, near the middle, there ſeems to be ſome " reſemblance of a quadruped with horns; none of theſe things " appear in the copy in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 339. " Whether this was deſigned by the Indians as a memorial of " any remarkable event, or was a mere *luſus* at their leiſure " hours,

" hours, of which they have a great number, I cannot pretend " to ſay. 'Tis certain it was done before the Engliſh ſettled in " this country."

Such are the different accounts that have been exhibited in this country of this American inſcription. When I firſt ſaw it in M. Gebelin's book, I own I could conceive of it as nothing more than the rude ſcrawls of ſome of the Indian tribes, commemorating their engagements, their marches, or their hunting parties, ſuch as are to be ſeen in different accounts of theſe nations, and very lately exhibited to this Society by a worthy member of it [*d*]. And I was happy to find this notion coincided with Mr. Winthrop's ideas on the ſubject, as given in the concluſion of his letter.

It is upon this ſuppoſition only that I can account for the little or no attention that has hitherto been paid in this country to this ſuppoſed memorial of antient times in North America, after having been exhibited, at diſtant periods, no leſs than three times to the Royal and Antiquarian Societies in this metropolis.

The *Literati* of that part of the world certainly did their parts in ſending repeated accounts and exhibitions of it to the *Literati* here; who, upon a ſuppoſition of its being the work of the Indians, might probably conclude that the interpretation would be beſt made upon the ſpot by thoſe who had better opportunities of converſing with and knowing the people who ſeemed to have the beſt claim to its fabrication.

Some conjectures as to its origin we find ſtated in the letter which accompanied the copy of the inſcription ſent from America to M. Gebelin; from which it appears that this copy was from the ſame original draught from which Mr. Winthrop's copy, ſent to Mr. Hollis, and now exhibited [*e*], was

[*d*] See in the ſixth volume of the Archæologia, p. 159, " Obſervations on " the Indian Method of Picture Writing, by William Bray, Eſq."

[*e*] Plate XIX. fig. 1.

taken. This draught was made September 13, 1768, by Meſſrs. Stephen Sewell, and Thomas Darnforth, aſſiſted by Meſſrs. William Baylis, Seth Williams, and David Cobb.

In the letter to M. Gebelin, accompanying this copy, it is ſaid—"The convenience of the road, and the facility of navigating the river to this place, give reaſon to ſome to ſuppoſe it the work of the Phœnicians, driven hither from the European coaſts; others ſuppoſe it is rather an hieroglyphic inſcription than alphabetic characters, and that therefore it may be the work of the Chineſe or Japaneſe."

The hint given in the former paragraph of a Phœnician origin was not loſt upon M. Gebelin. When he received it, he was engaged in that part of his work which led him to prove that the Phœnicians had, in their early voyages, viſited all parts of the globe. He therefore falls into raptures on receiving this additional proof and ſupport of his ſyſtem. To uſe his own expreſſions [*f*]: "It ſeemed to have come expreſs "from that part of the globe, to confirm his notions of the "very early communications that ſubſiſted between the old

[*f*] "Il ſemble arriver du nouveau monde tout exprés pour confirmer nos "vues ſur l'ancienne communication de l'ancien et du nouveau monde. Nous "l'avons fait graver avec la plus grande exactitude; on y verra de la maniere la "plus vraiſemblable, nous dirions preſqu' evidente, que c'eſt un monument "Phénicien, et ſans doute Carthaginois, diviſé en trois ſcènes, une paſſée, "une preſente, une future.

"La preſente, ſur le devant du tableau, deſigne une alliance entre les peuples "Américains et la nation etrangere. La ſcène paſsée repreſente ces etrangers "comme venant d'un pays riche et induſtrieux et comme ayant été amenés avec "le plus grand ſuccés par un vent du nord.

"Les ſymboles et les caracteres alphabétiques de ce monument ſe réuniſſent "pour prouver que ces ſont des Carthaginois; et puis en reflechiſſant un peu, "on n'eſt pas plus etonné de voir ce peuple dans ces contrees, que d'y trouver "des Iſſandois et des Gallois aux xe et xie Siecles, et Colomb a xve." *Diſcours Preliminaire*, p. 13. vol. VIII.

" and the new world. You ſee (continues he) on a bare in-
" ſpection of this monument, the moſt probable, I had almoſt
" ſaid the moſt evident marks of its being Phœnician, and,
" without doubt, Carthaginian, divided into three ſcenes, paſt,
" preſent, and to come." The middle, or principal, part of
" the picture exhibits an alliance between the Americans and
" newly-arrived ſtrangers. The paſt ſcene, which is on the
" right, repreſents theſe ſtrangers as coming from a far coun-
" try, fruitful and cultivated, by favour of a north wind.
" The third diviſion to the left exhibits the ſtrangers conſulting
" an oracle for their proſperous return."

Whoever wiſhes to ſee all this, more in detail, may conſult the eighth volume of M. Gebelin's *Monde Primitif* [*g*].

A learned member of this Society, Colonel Vallancey, has ſtarted an idea concerning the origin of this inſcription, which ſeems to carry a greater air of probability, that it was not made either by the Phœnicians or Carthaginians, but that it has a great reſemblance to ſome of thoſe found on rocks in Tartary and Siberia, which are deſcribed and figured by Strahlenbergh, in his Deſcription of the Northern and Eaſtern coaſts of Europe and Aſia ; [*h*] that it was probably, therefore, the work of the ſame race of people who formerly poſſeſſed thoſe countries, and paſſed from thence to the great continent of America.

The Colonel having in his memoir referred to an inſcribed ſtone found at a conſiderable diſtance in the interior parts of North America, it may not be amiſs to give the hiſtory of it as exhibited by Mr. Kalm, in the third volume of his Travels into North America, p. 123.

[*g*] P. 57, and 561. M. Gebelin's engraved copy of the inſcription agrees pretty exactly with No. 1. pl. XIX. It would ſcarce be ſuppoſed he could be ſerious in the explanation he has given of it, by any one that did not conſider how far a man may be carried by attachment to a ſyſtem.

[*h*] See pl. XIX. fig. 2.

" Some years before I came into *Canada*, the then governor-
" general, *Chevalier de Beaucharnois*, gave M. de Verandrier an
" order to go from *Canada*, with a number of people, on an ex-
" pedition acroſs North America to the South Sea, in order to
" examine how far theſe two places are diſtant from each other,
" and to find out what advantages might accrue to Canada or
" Louiſiana, from a communication with that ocean. They
" ſet out on horſeback from *Montreal*, and went as much due
" weſt as they could on account of the lakes, rivers, and moun-
" tains, which fall in their way. As they came far in the coun-
" try, beyond many nations, they ſometimes met with large
" tracts of land, free from wood, but covered with a kind of
" very tall graſs, for the ſpace of ſome days journey. Many of
" theſe fields were every where covered with furrows, as if they
" had been ploughed and ſown formerly. It is to be obſerved
" that the nations, which now inhabit North America, could
" not cultivate the land in this manner, becauſe they never made
" uſe of horſes, oxen, ploughs, or any inſtrument of huſbandry,
" nor had they ever ſeen a plough before the Europeans came to
" them. When they came far to the Weſt, where, to the beſt
" of their knowledge, no *Frenchman* or *European* had ever been,
" they found in one place in the woods, and again on a large
" plain, great pillars of ſtone leaning upon each other. The
" pillars conſiſted of one ſingle ſtone each; and the Frenchmen
" could not but ſuppoſe that they had been erected by human
" hands. Sometimes they have found ſuch ſtones laid upon
" one another, and, as it were, formed into a wall. In ſome
" of thoſe places where they found ſuch ſtones, they could not
" find any other ſorts of ſtones. They have not been able to
" diſcover any characters or writing upon any of theſe ſtones,
" though they have made a very careful ſearch after them. At
" laſt they met with a large ſtone like a pillar; and in it a ſmall
" ſtone

" ſtone was fixed, which was covered on both ſides with un-
" known characters. This ſtone, which was about a foot of
" French meaſure in length, and between four and five inches
" broad, they broke looſe and carried to *Canada* with them,
" whence it was ſent to France to the ſecretary of ſtate,
" the Count de Maurepas. What became of it afterwards is
" unknown to them, but they think it is yet preſerved in his
" collection. Several of the Jeſuits, who have ſeen and handled
" this ſtone in *Canada*, unanimouſly affirm, that the letters
" on it are the ſame with thoſe which, in the books contain-
" ing accounts of *Tataria*, are called *Tatarian* characters;
" and that, on comparing both together, they found them
" perfectly alike. All that the Indians could ſay of theſe
" ſtones was, that they had been in thoſe places ſince time
" immemorial. The places where the pillars ſtood, were near
" nine hundred French miles weſtward of Montreal."

The above extract certainly deſerves the attention of every ſearcher into remote antiquity, and is favourable to the opinions of thoſe who conſider the Narraganſet inſcription as ſomething better than the rude ſcrawl of modern Indians. Though I have, myſelf, no better conjecture to offer, yet, if the different copies and accounts of it which I have been able to collect ſhall enable any perſon to throw any new light on ſo obſcure a ſubject, I ſhall think the attention I have paid to it amply recompenſed.

M. LORT.

XXVI. *Obſer-*

XXVI. *Obſervations on the* American *Inſcription. By Colonel* Charles Vallancey, *F. A. S.*

Read February 9, 1786.

THE attention of the Society has been lately much taken up with the explanation given by M. Gebelin of the Taunton inſcription in New England. That French author being inclined to aſcribe the inſcription on the rock to Phœnicians or Carthaginians, I beg leave to offer a few obſervations thereon.

The drawing of the inſcription ſent to M. Gebelin was taken by Dr. Greenwood in the year 1730. The rock, ſituated at the water edge, was then much decayed. "I traced," ſays the Doctor, "with chalk, all ſuch places *I believed* were really "indentures; and *paſſed over many*, which did not ſeem to have "been originally indented; and I muſt take notice, that the "figures are not *all ſo well defined as I have expreſſed them.* "Time has gradually impaired them; and an old man of the "town told me, he remembered them more perfect."

Doctor Greenwood's drawing contains three human figures, two on the right hand, and one on the left; and from theſe, M. Gebelin, ſkilled in the hieroglyphics of the ancients, and much addicted to ſymbolical and allegorical explanations, has made out a debarkation of the Phœnicans, and a ſacrifice to the gods of the ſea.

I am confident, Dr. Greenwood's account did not accompany the drawing, or M. Gebelin would not have hazarded an ex-

explanation ſo repugnant to all hiſtory. Many letters paſſed between me and Gebelin on this ſubject; at length he acknowledged his doubts; in ſhort, tacitly gave up the point.

As a member of the Philoſophic Society of Philadelphia, and of the learned body here preſent, I could not reſt ſatisfied till I had obtained further information of this Taunton inſcription; and I have the pleaſure of laying before the Society a fac ſimile copy of the inſcription, taken before the ſtone was impaired or injured, exactly half a century prior to Dr. Greenwood's drawing. This was made by the Rev. Mr. Danforth, in the year 1680. Pl. XVIII. N° 3.

In this drawing there are no human figures, or any thing that could poſſibly lead M. Gebelin to the explanation he has given. It is evidently an inſcription free from hieroglyphics.

The only deſcription that accompanies Mr. Danforth's drawing is this: "There is a tradition amongſt the oldeſt Indians, "that there came a wooden houſe, and men of another coun-"try in it, ſwimming up the river *Aſſoonet*, as the Taunton "was then called, who fought the Indians with mighty ſuc-"ceſs." This may refer to the arrival of the Engliſh, and not to Phœnicians: it is highly improbable, that a people, who can give no account of their own origin, ſhould, by tradition, be able to relate a tranſaction of ſo early a date as the time of the exiſtence of the Phœnicians. But Dr. Greenwood thinks this tradition is ſufficient to ſhew the monument was eſteemed not only very antique, but of a different nature from any of theirs.

I muſt confeſs myſelf of opinion, that this monument, or inſcription, was the work of a race of people who arrived on this great continent prior to the preſent race of Indian ſavages; and I have ſomewhere read of an obeliſk and inſcription having been diſcovered many days journey N. W. of Quebec: the country,

country was unpeopled: marks of the plough were to be ſeen; and the ſtone, containing the inſcription, happened to be looſe, and was brought to Quebec by theſe French itinerants, and, it is ſaid, tranſmitted to the French miniſter [*a*].

The inſcription made by a prieſteſs of the Michmac Indians, in preſence of Judge Spry and his ſiſter, at Halifax, copied in the Minutes of the Society, November 20, 1766, is another inſtance, that letters or characters did once flouriſh with this people. The French Miſſionaries may aſſume to themſelves the honour of teaching the Michmacs that character; but whoever attentively inſpects it, will readily perceive, that they would have invented one more applicable to the ſuperſtitious religion theſe good Miſſionaries were endeavouring to eſtabliſh, and that there is a medium between hieroglyphics and characters in the Michmac inſcription.

In the controverſy with Monſ. Gebelin, he obſerved to me, "You have proved the Algonkin language of America (now "almoſt loſt) to have been the ſame with the old Scytho-Iriſh, "and *that* you have proved to be Punic; ergò the Punic and "the Algonkin were the ſame." This argument is futile and puerile.

The ancient Iriſh, I do apprehend, were deſcended of the old Scythians of Armenia, who extended themſelves eaſtward to Thibet, and north weſtward to Siberia; and I do imagine they may have croſſed over to America from Kamtchatka. The diſcoveries of our countryman Captain Cook, and the converſation I have had with Captain King and others, who were in theſe parts, have confirmed my opinion in this matter [*b*].

If

[*a*] See before, p. 299.

[*b*] C'eſt donc encore la poſtèritè de Japhet, qui non contente de ſon ancien extenſion, dans des ſiécles plus récens s'eſt allée planter ſur les cotes d'Afrique, dans l'*Amerique*, et de là juſques dans le fond de l'Aſia: de ſorte qu'on la voit actuellement

If the original inhabitants of America had the uſe of ſuch a character as repreſented by the Rev. Mr. Danforth, and if theſe aborigines came from Siberia to that great continent, the natural inference is, that, in Siberia, we may expect to find ſimilar monuments.

The learned Strahlenburg traverſed moſt parts of Siberia; and he gives us an account of ſeveral inſcriptions to be met with in that country. Some he had heard of, and others he had ſeen, and has favoured the publick with drawings of them.

From theſe I have ſelected one [*i*], which, in my humble opinion, bears ſo ſtrong a reſemblance of the New England inſcription [*k*], there can be little doubt of their being written by the ſame people. Theſe are alſo written on perpendicular rocks, forming the banks of rivers; a ſtrong inſtance of that people having been navigators.

All the inſcriptions in Siberia were not made by the original inhabitants of that country, if we may credit Monſ. La Croix. In his Hiſtory of Timur Bec, tom. II. he ſays, "The great "Tamerlane purſued his march through Siberia, over the river "Irtiſh as far as Bucharia; and there the generals ſtopt ſome "days, croſſing the river frequently, to engrave their arms and "cyphers on the pines of the woods."

In another place, he ſays, "Timur halted near the river "Jeniſei, one whole day, and commanded his ſoldiers to raiſe "an obeliſk of rude ſtones, which in an inſtant appeared as a "minaret, or tower: on this, able engravers marked the date

actuellement établie dans les quatre parties du monde à la fois. Si les monumens, qu'ils ont laiſsées, ſe trouvent plus entiers en certains lieux qu'en d'autres, c'eſt par une conſéquence neceſſaire dans ceux qui ont été moins expoſés aux ravages des nations deſtructrices, aux guerres fatales, et aux autres révolutions (Diſſertation addreſſée aux Académies ſcavantes de l'Europe, ſur les Brigantes, p. 90.)

[*i*] Pl. XIX. N° 5. [*k*] Pl. XVIII. N° 1.

"of the year, and the day that Timur penetrated thus "far."

Strahlenburg ſays, he had heard there was ſuch an obeliſk and an inſcription ſtill exiſting on Mount Itick, between the rivers Iſchim and Irtiſch, but could get no account of the nature of the characters.

The inſcriptions, here given from that author, were taken from places far remote from Timur's progreſs in that country.

Much information on this ſubject may be expected from the diligent reſearches now making in Siberia, by order of the Empreſs of Ruſſia; and, till the publication of theſe diſcoveries, we muſt poſtpone all further conjectures on theſe inſcriptions.

I therefore conclude, that the Taunton inſcription was not made either by Phœnicians or Carthaginians, as M. Gebelin has aſſerted, but by the ſame race of people, who formerly poſſeſſed Siberia, and paſſed from hence to the great continent of America; and that theſe were a lettered people, and ſkilled in all the ſciences of thoſe ages, but have been moſtly deſtroyed, in the northern part of America, by great hords of rambling Tartars, who followed them, and now form the ſavage Indians; and that many of the original people are to be found in South America.

CHARLES VALLANCEY.

XXVII.

p. 307.

XXVII. *Obſervations on the* Barberini *Vaſe. By* John Glen King, *D. D. Addreſſed to the Earl of* Leiceſter, *Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read Nov. 30, 1786.

My Lord,

I TAKE the liberty to ſend your Lordſhip the thoughts which have occurred to me on ſeeing the famous Roman urn, called the *Barberini Vaſe*, in the collection of the late ducheſs dowager of Portland. I ſhould have had the honour of ſending this account many months ago, if I could have procured a tolerable drawing of it; or the engraving made from it by Bartolozzi, after the celebrated Cypriani's drawing. Indeed, two ſuch artiſts as thoſe only could do juſtice to ſo admirable an original.

This beautiful urn was found in the tomb of the Emperor Alexander Severus, and his mother Mamæa. It formerly belonged to the Barberini cabinet, and is deſcribed in that collection; and thence was called the *Barberini Vaſe*. It is deſcribed, alſo, by Montfaucon [*a*], who has given a plate of it; but that learned author, who, perhaps had not ſeen the original, is miſtaken in almoſt every thing, little as it is, that he advances upon it. He ſays the Vaſe is of one precious ſtone, adorned with figures in baſs relief, of excellent workmanſhip.

[*a*] Antiq. Expliquée, Tom. V. pl. 6.

The figures are indeed excellent; but the vaſe is evidently glaſs, or compoſition, of a deep blue, or violet colour, and the figures white. The ſtory it repreſents, ſays he, is all myſterious; he ſuppoſes it to be Leda with the ſwan; and wonders what relation it has to the aſhes of Alexander Severus.

This attempt of Montfaucon to explain the ſubject of this curious piece of antiquity, was confeſſedly unſatisfactory to himſelf, and grounded only on conjecture. There is no inſcription upon the Vaſe to aſcertain the perſon for whom it was deſigned; yet the circumſtance of its having been diſcovered in the tomb of Alexander Severus leads us to determine that it belonged to him or to his mother. I hope therefore it will not be preſumptuous if I hazard my conjecture upon it, which is, that it is the urn of the empreſs Mamæa, repreſenting her death, and the birth of her ſon Alexander Severus.

Perhaps it may be neceſſary to premiſe ſome conſiderations with regard to the works of the ancient artiſts, particularly in ſculpture, and to prove that in the execution of their deſigns, though they often grouped figures to repreſent ſome hiſtorical fact, or poetical fable, yet they frequently did not attend to perſpective, nor endeavour to attain it, and diſregarded the unity of action, time, and place.

This is the juſt obſervation of a moſt ingenious and learned modern artiſt of France [*b*], who has written a tranſlation of the 34th, 35th, and 36th books of Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, wherein he treats particularly of the fine arts of the ancients. The tranſlation is accompanied with notes, containing many

[*b*] M. Falconet, who was engaged by the preſent empreſs of Ruſſia to make the equeſtrian ſtatue ſhe erected to Peter the Great. The tranſlation here mentioned was printed for Monnier, at the Hague, 1773, in two vols. 8vo. but is extremely ſcarce. I believe the author took back moſt of the copies himſelf, intending to give a new and more correct edition.

curious

curious and ſhrewd obſervations on the ſubject. In one of his notes [*c*] he ſays, "I ſhall take this opportunity to make ſome remarks on the compoſition of ſome ancient bas reliefs, of which I do not find any of our writers on the fine arts have ſpoken.

"No artiſt, no connoiſſeur, no antiquary, is ignorant of the works I am going to mention; but it is neceſſary to undeceive many perſons who have read, or heard, that the ancients are our maſters in every thing. It is neceſſary to prove to them, that this rule, like all others, is not without exception: to which purpoſe I ſhall point out the ridicule circumſtances in two or three of their performances.

"In one, Ceres is repreſented with a torch in her hand, ſeeking her daughter Proſerpine, whom, at two ſteps diſtance, Pluto is carrying off, and going to place in his little car, conducted by Mercury; the horſes are already on a full gallop, though this commodious carriage is ſtill empty; and they are hurrying the equipage through the infernal regions, where Pluto, ſeated on his throne, a few inches diſtant, complains, as they ſay, to Mercury, that he is the only God who is unmarried. Nymphs, Naiads, Minerva, Diana, Venus, are not omitted: and it is curious to ſee them all jumbled together to add ſtill more to the incoherence of the compoſition; for they all ſtand on the ſame plan. This piece is in the Mazarini palace at Rome.

"In another bas relief you ſee Minerva ordering Perſeus to deliver Andromeda: and at the other end of the piece, you ſee Perſeus again in the act of delivering her: in the middle, between theſe two Perſeus's, you may have the pleaſure of ſeeing the birth of Venus riſing out of the ſea: her boſom and

[*c*] Hiſtoire Naturelle de Pline, Liv. XXXVI. p. 14. n. 16.

her ſize ſhew her to be full-grown, but gods and goddeſſes come into the world ready dreſſed. Two Tritons carry the mother of the loves on a ſhell, as the Roman ſoldiers carried the emperor on a ſhield: a very ingenious idea to expreſs the empire of Venus in the univerſe; but two Cupids, much larger than their mother, finiſh and ſpoil the whole; each of them riding very commodiouſly on the tail of a Triton. Theſe three ſubjects, Perſeus going to deliver Andromeda, Venus carried on a conch, and Perſeus actually delivering Andromeda, are likewiſe on the ſame plan or ground, and all the figures touch. This work is in the palace Mattei."

He mentions another, and many others might be added. "Obſerve," continues Mr. Falconet, "I am not now ſpeaking of the execution, which is really excellent, in theſe miſerable compoſitions. If a modern ſculptor ſhould produce a performance like this, however we might admire the work, we ſhould certainly conſign the artiſt to Bedlam. The age, no doubt, is enlightened, and thoſe who judge our works think themſelves enlightened alſo: for this reaſon a thouſand people will tell you, becauſe they have heard others ſay it, you muſt make bas reliefs like the antique. Begin firſt by underſtanding the antique, and then you will know how far it is proper to follow them; and you will ceaſe to praiſe, without judgement and without diſtinction, works which you would eſteem deſpicable if they were modern: you will then feel that true criticiſm, though bold, is not ſatire; that that ſerves to throw light on its ſubject, where praiſe beſtowed at random, and conſequently often falſe, leaves only the darkneſs of ignorance."

This long paſſage I have quoted cannot fail to have its weight, from the ſolid reaſons on which it is grounded, and from the authority of the writer, a man of acknowledged talents, who is ſpeaking on a ſubject which was the ſtudy and buſineſs

buſineſs of his life. Having therefore premiſed theſe remarks, we may ſee how they apply to the precious relick we are conſidering; which will be found to have the beauties and defects ſo frequently united in the works of the ancient artiſts. We have certainly two diſtinct ſtories. In one there ſeems an alluſion to the birth of Alexander the Great, under which is typified the birth of Alexander Severus. Jupiter is repreſented contemplating the charms of Olympias; no one can doubt of the figure of Jupiter, who has been the leaſt converſant in antique gems or coins; at the ſame inſtant, you ſee the figure of a ſerpent, or dragon, with Olympias, under which form Jupiter is fabled to have begotten Alexander the Great; his paſſion for her is repreſented by the little Cupid, holding his bow, flying over the female figure reclined on the ground, which is probably intended to repreſent Mamæa delivered of her ſon, ſtanding by her as a full-grown figure, and holding her hand: for the artiſt endeavours to exhibit two different periods of time at the ſame inſtant, the birth of the emperor, intimated perhaps by the mantle in his hand, and his ſtate of manhood.

The writer [*d*] of the life of Alexander Severus will furniſh us with many circumſtances to corroborate this conjecture. The day of his birth, ſays that hiſtorian, was the ſame with the day of the death of Alexander the Great, in whoſe temple his mother was delivered of him, and whoſe name therefore he took from thence: his nurſe was of the name of Olympias, and the mother of Alexander the Great was of the ſame; his foſter-father was a countryman of the name of Philip, and the father of Alexander the Great was the ſame. We are told, alſo, of his attachment to the name of Alexander; when the ſenate, on his acceſſion to the empire, intreated him to aſſume

[*d*] Ælius Lampridius. Hiſt. Auguſt. Scriptor.

the name of Antoninus, he perſiſted in refuſing it againſt all their importunity, as he did in refuſing the title of *Great*, which they would have added to Alexander. We may hence, however, fairly infer that the poets and artiſts of thoſe days would readily avail themſelves of this topic of praiſe, in their eulogiums upon him, and flatteries to him. And ſuch ſeems to be intended in this baſs relief: the ſcene of the temple is marked by the architecture behind the figure of Alexander, though his head, through the errors in perſpective, is as high as the columns of the temple. In the back ground, if there be any diſtinction of ground, are two trees, probably alluding to a circumſtance mentioned by Lampridius among the omens of Alexander's future reign, and therefore a popular belief in thoſe times: a laurel, ſays Lampridius, in his father's garden, which was ſet by the ſide of a *peach*, in one year had overtopped the peach: the peach being *malum Perſicum*, thoſe, who pretended to augury, ſaid this was an omen he ſhould one day conquer the Perſians. One of theſe trees, we may obſerve, has the laurel leaf, and has the appearance of being much more flouriſhing than the other, which is almoſt a naked trunk.

Thus much I have hazarded as to the ſubject of one part of this ſtoried urn. Whether I am right or not, in this conjecture, the artiſt, moſt undoubtedly, had ſome meaning well underſtood in his days; but, I am perſuaded, many of the faults and abſurdities in the execution, ſuch as want of unity of time, and want of perſpective, will remain the ſame, whatever his meaning was: and therefore they ought not to be objected to the explication here given.

The other tablet ſeems more conſiſtent as to time, if it repreſents the death of Mamæa, ſignified by the expiring torch the female figure reclined holds in her hand. I am entirely at a loſs to divine what ſhe or either of the other figures in this com-

compartment are placed upon: poſſibly the artiſt had ſome meaning even in that, as a hewn ſtone ſeems falling at the feet of the middle figure. The man ſitting at her feet, and holding a mantle, ſeems to be the emperor her ſon; for we ſee the laurel tree again behind them, one of the branches now withered; the building on which he ſits, for ſuch it ſeems to be, may repreſent a bath, the baths he built being reckoned among his moſt magnificent works; they were of porphyry and Lacedemonian marble [*e*], and are preſerved on one of his coins. The beautiful figure on the other ſide, leaning on a *haſta pura*, or ſtaff of a ſpear, ſeems an allegorical figure, perhaps to repreſent conſtancy; though I have no ſimilar repreſentation of that virtue to adduce. She ſeems ſeated on an artificial rock, and I took my idea from the firmneſs viſible in the whole form, and the vigour of the arm preſſed on the ſtone upon which ſhe ſits: it called to my memory Milton's deſcription of the confidence virtue inſpires,

——— Yes, and keep it ſtill,
Lean on it ſafely.———

——— This I hold firm,
Virtue may be aſſailed, but never hurt.

——— If this fail,
The pillar'd firmament is rottenneſs,
And earth's baſe built on ſtubble. *Comus.*

As to the figure, at the bottom of the vaſe, in the Phrygian cap, which ſomewhat reſembles Harpocrates, I ſhall only obſerve that it appears of different work from the ſides; it is evidently on a larger ſcale, and is not of one piece with the reſt of the urn, but faſtened to it with a cement, as any one

[*e*] Lampridius.

may diſcern by examining the original; it ſeems alſo to have been a piece of a larger work.

According to Lampridius, Alexander and his mother were murdered, at the ſame time, by the machinations of Maximinus. They were however afterwards univerſally lamented by the ſoldiers, by the ſenate, and by the people; they were both deified, and had a magnificent ſepulchre at Rome, in which, as has been ſaid, this vaſe was found. The work on it is a proof of the abilities of the artiſts of that time, as are alſo the coins of the reign of that emperor, which are very fine. It is certain, he was well educated and accompliſhed; and being himſelf a judge in painting, ſculpture, and architecture, he was moſt probably a great encourager of the arts; for this reaſon, I ſhould not give this piece a higher antiquity than his reign.

If the conjecture here advanced be right as to this being the urn of Mamœa, it may farther be conſidered as very obvious, that the birth of her ſon, from whom ſhe derived the ſplendour of her life, ſhould be repreſented on it, as the glory of his reign was ſo much owing to her. She preſerved him from the attempts of Heliogabalus to deſtroy him, and brought him up with the greateſt care, engaging ſuch perſons only to inſtruct him as were diſtinguiſhed by their probity as well as learning; not allowing any one to come near him, who had been connected with his debauched predeceſſor, or whom ſhe ſuſpected capable of corrupting his morals.

Permit me to add, when I was lately favoured with a ſight of this vaſe, being ſtruck with the beauty of its exquiſite workmanſhip, of which I could form no idea from the plate in Montfaucon, I wiſhed to decypher it: and the thought which ſoon occurred to me, I fancied confirmed the more I examined the hiſtory of Alexander's life, by the ſeveral authors who have

written about him, but eſpecially by Ælius Lampridius, the moſt copious of any that are come down to us.

Our worthy ſecretary, Mr. Norris, who always expreſſes a readineſs to oblige, has ſhewn me an ingenious conjecture of one of our members on the ſubject of this urn, which had been read to the Society: as I had not ſeen or known of that before I had finiſhed this, I could have no intention of oppoſing mine to his explication: and, therefore, I truſt to that gentleman's candour, that he will not be offended at my offering this attempt towards a ſolution of that enigma. This learned Society would, I doubt not, be glad to ſee a ſatisfactory account of that curious piece of antiquity; and, I am ſure, I ſhall be happy to ſee any other more ſucceſsful than myſelf in explaining it.

I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt humble, and moſt obedient ſervant,

J. G. KING.

XXVIII. *An Eſſay on the elegant ornamental* Cameos *of the* Barberini Vaſe, *with a View to an Explanation of them, and their reference to Hiſtory. By* Charles Marſh, *Eſq. F. A. S. Addreſſed to the Rev. Mr.* Norris, *Secretary.*

Read May 13, 1784.

Dear Sir,

THE Barberini Vaſe being at preſent the ſubject of much ſpeculation, I requeſt the favour of you to lay before the Society ſome conjectures which have amuſed me reſpecting ſeveral traits of hiſtory apparently ſketched in the exquiſite Cameos on that elegant piece of workmanſhip. They are offered entirely ſubject to correction, and better interpretation. It ſeems to me, where hiſtory is concerned, to be very fair to have recourſe to it for the explanation of any piece of art which may be of modern diſcovery. I learn that this vaſe was found within a ſepulchral monument in the Monte del Grano at Rome according to the words of the hiſtorian, who ſays, of Alexander Severus, *Romæ ſepulchrum ampliſſimum meruit.* I ſhall only add, that, among the figures repreſented by Bartoli as extant on one of the ſides of the grand Sarcophagus, is one whoſe head and manner perfectly reſembles the Jupiter or Guardian Genius, which, in the vaſe, is contemplating the event of Alexander Severus's exiſtence. I am, with great reſpect, your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

CHARLES MARSH.

De

De Anaglyphis, elegantibus Vaſis Barberini *ornamentis, explicandis, et ad Hiſtoriam referendis, Tentamen.*

ADMIRABILE iſtud Vas è Muſæo Barberino nuper ad nos advectum, eleganti materie, arte exquiſitâ, quæcunque ſit materies, aut cujuſlibet artificis [*a*] opus ſit, ævi ſcilicet multùm dubitati, mihi videtur ſparſa hiſtoriæ bene notæ lineamenta in ſe, ſatyrico more adumbrata, continere. Utùt pauculæ ſint figuræ, multum eſt inventionis; et ſi conjecturam liceat præripere, crediderim duas illic quaſi ſcenas non oculis ſolum ſed menti etiam exhiberi. Minoribus fortaſſe adminiculis ratio hæc omnis niti videatur. Ad minima velim ornamenta primùm advertatur animus è re ipſâ ſuccreſcentia, ad columnam, architecturam, ſurculos ſive lauri, ſeu olivæ, ſive Perſici ramuſculos, ad faces aliorſùm verſas, ad tabellas, ad puerum denique alatum, ac ſerpentem. Rem quamlibet loco ſuo poſitam expendas. Larvas item quibus duæ ſcenæ ſeparantur vide. De imagine ad imum vaſis ſeſe efferenti [*b*], alieni prorſus artificii atque aliunde ſumptâ, nihil opus eſt dicere. Quid autem aliud inter hæc omnia comperies, quam breves veræ hiſtoriæ notas ac particulas perlucentes: quas, ſi non penitus tectæ fuerint, at verò non ab omnibus primo digito attingendas invenies. Marium [*c*] ſcilicet aut Archilocum quendam cum Lampridio luctari, aut Satyram cum hiſtoriâ ludere, tandem agnoveris.

Erat quidem apud nos, annos abhinc fere pauculos, artifex (qualis ille Hogarth, ab omnibus lugendus [*d*],) tali artificio haud male aptus: qui, ſi cum auctore quodam amaro conjuraverat, et

[*a*] Lamprid. Alex. Sever. 24. 25.
[*b*] Auctore G. Hamilton Milite.
[*c*] Spartian. Heliogab. 11. 30.
[*d*] Ob. A. D. 1764.

opus ſuſceperat quod Imperatorem luxurioſum, vitiis deditum omninò turpiſſimis, unâ ſolùm parvulâ tabellâ laceraret, virtutibus ornatum alium ibidem collaudaret, ſimplicitate adeò egregiâ ſimul ſibi præſcriptâ ut non niſi ſex aut ſeptem figuris ad vivum delineatis tota involveretur fabula; hoc, inquam, ſi præceptum fuerat atque propoſitum, haud ſcio an aliter prodiiſſet pictura ab illo data; poſtquam enim bene concepta fuerint, diſpoſitio, partes, exitus, talis fortaſſe fuiſſet picturæ modus.

Quaſi in ſolio ſuprà alios imminenti, columnâ ſtantis imperii quadratâ ad tergum poſitâ, ſedet Heliogabalus corpore diſſoluto, veſte diſcinctâ, parte autem corporis turpiſſimâ, (erubeſcat ſanè vitioſus) in libidinem promptâ. Ad pedes amor fœmineus ſive connubialis jacet mœrens, tædam modò non extinctam, manu languidâ tenens. De Auguſtâ Paulâ [*d*], muliere pulcherrimâ ab impuro iſto rejectâ ac repudiatâ legimus; cauſas [*e*] novimus. Iſte qui ſolium habet, fœminam obſtinato ſimul ac minaci vultu aſpernatur. Ad dexteram fœminæ præſtò eſt monitrix immobilis, divinatio, multa animo volvens, augurali fortaſſe lituo firmiter innitens, minitanti reſponſum modò datura, vel ut altera ſacerdos Syra, Biathanatum [*f*] ferè pronuncians. Fœminæ in medio reclinis ſupra caput, arborem diffiſſam atque imminentem videas. Hiſtorici verba in mentem revoces, "non Magnum [*g*], non Antoninum ſe vellet vocari." Quis? Severus. quis Severus? Alexander—olei diſtributor, blanditiarum ac fumi venditorum inimicus, ſomniorum et aruſpicum fautor. At in medio ramum per ſe feliciter aſſurgentem cernas, quaſi ſtirpem novam. "Tu Marcellus eris" [*b*] aiebat ſors Præneſtina. Genus ac nomen a Marcianorum familiâ agnitum ac præcipue vendicatum, "ſi quà fata aſpera rumpas," ſi imperantis inſidias fugeris jam jam tibi imminentes. Tabulas amatorias ad pedes fœminæ

[*d*] Herodian, lib. v. c. 14.
[*f*] Spartian. Heliogab. 33.
[*b*] Id. 4.
[*e*] Dio. C. penultimo.
[*g*] Lamprid. Alex. Sever. 5, 6—11.

recubantis

recubantis obſeratas et intactas, ſive divortii libellum cum Paulâ facti, prætermittam; et ad majora, alteram ſcilicet partem, oculos convertam. Sub faſtigio Dorico, ſimplici ac venerando, inducitur Juvenis; procerus, nudus è palæſtrâ, athletico corpore, facie ac venuſtate [*i*] egregiâ, mollitèr a matre familiæ attrectatus. Recordemur parentum Alexandri ſomnia, Mamméæ primùm, ſeſe Dracunculum [*k*] parituram. Evenit autem, apud Arcenam urbem, in ipſius Alexandri delubris partus [*l*]. Deinde aliud patri ſeſe obtulit ſomnium; alis victoriæ [*m*] ſeſe in cælum vehi. Puerum aligerum videmus, ſive victoriam, ſive amorem cum face ac pharetrâ, ſucceſſu lætum, in æthera abeuntem. Signum de Alexandro noſtro item aliud obvenit. Laurus [*n*] enim, ait Lampridius, juxtà Perſici arborem nata, intra annum Perſicum vicit. Arborem minorem videre, et aruſpicum conjecturas intelligere eſt. "Perſæ vincendi," aiebant.—Poſt tot restam benè ac feliciter conflatas, mulierem, Mammæam ſcilicet, quaſi partu enixam, etiam atque etiam gravi et auſpicato vultu, ne dicam, cæleſti, contemplatur figura plus quam humana; Jovis veriſimiliter; cujus ſub numine, tanquam Alexandrorum Genio, hæc omnia confieri licuit. Neque præſens ſcena multùm ab eâ abludit, ubi olim apud Olympiæ concubitus, ut fertur, intereſſe voluit imperatorum ac divûm pater. Templum verò quis prætereat? locum illum ornatiſſimum ubi hæc ſanctiora occurrunt; qui per ſe non obſcuriùs Alexandri Severi Imperatoris favorem ac patrocinium videtur indicare et innuere, unde multa architecturæ Graiæ opera redintegrata, et quæ ab aliis incepta fuerant, brevi hujuſce imperii ævo, elegantiſſimè perfecta traduntur. Figurarum etiàm libramine utrimque exquiſito, et oppoſitione accuratâ, quâ lucem ſibi invicem afferunt, me percelli non diffiteor, eventus quidem ante actos et Alexandri tempori-

[*i*] Id. 4. [*k*] Id. 14. [*l*] Id. 5. [*m*] Id. 14.
[*n*] Lamprid. Alex. Sever. 13.

bus

bus præſentia inter ſe comparans. Ad hæc, niſi fallor, reſpiciunt, Templum, Juvenis e Gymnaſio bonarum artium prodiens, Olympiæ matris cura et educatio deſignata, cui, velut umbra, comes eſt amor lætus, reſpiciens, in cælum abiens: fixa Jovis attentio ac voluntas. Ad illa, imperii ſolium, imperator delicatulus nimis, neglecta ac deſolata mulier: poſtremò ſacrorum vel divinandi miniſtra eloquentiſſima.

Verùm ut paucis res tota ſimul explicita concludatur, hoc uti ſpeculo liceat. Sit Urna Votiva, in honorem Alexandri Severi ficta. U. C. 975.

Cum præ luxu et in fæminas odio, Heliogabalus filios [*o*], hæredes aut ſucceſſores noluit, propitio Romæ Genio, ſive Supremo Jove, e Mammeâ matre, tanquam Olympiâ [*p*], alter Alexander, Heroum æmulus, Græcarum artium Patronus, Imperator Severus, naſcitur, atque ab eâdem educatur.

C. M.

Londini Cal. April, 1784.

[*o*] Spartian. Heliogab. 31.
[*p*] Lamprid. Alex. Sever. 13.
Vitrearıorum &c. apud eund. 24, 25. 28. ad 31. Dion. cap. penult.

XXIX. *Some Account of an antient Painting on Glaſs.* *By the Rev.* Robert Maſters, *B. D. F. S. A. Rector of* Landbeach, Cambridgeſhire.

Read December 7, 1786.

AS the notice and preſervation of ſuch antiquities as relate to the royal families of this kingdom is one of the objects of this Society, I take the liberty of exhibiting to it a curioſity which has lately fallen into my hands, together with ſome obſervations I have made thereon, and ſuch others as have been communicated to me by our worthy member Mr. Brooke, Somerſet herald.

It is a repreſentation of an ancient piece of glaſs, on which is depicted a memorable piece of hiſtory of the Stewart family, and was diſcovered by me in Cambridgeſhire, and obtained from a deſcendant of that houſe, who ſaid it came from an ancient ſeat of the family at Stuntney in that county, which was pulled down about the beginning of the preſent century. The ſtory alludes to an event which poſſibly took place in the Stewart family ſome ages ago, and which has before been treated on in the fourth volume of the Archaeologia by our deceaſed worthy preſident Dr. Milles, and Mr. Brooke, to which I beg leave to refer, being beautifully repreſented on an elegant ſeal ring in poſſeſſion of Sir Richard Worſley, Bart. there engraved; and this glaſs is a confirmation of the event, and ſhews that the family of Stewart were deſirous of perpetuating it by various means.

The ſize of the glaſs is nine inches and a quarter by ſix and a half, upon which are well painted in proper colours the ſame figures as on Sir Richard Worſley's ſeal ring before mentioned, the knight having a ſhield, and ſtaff raguled. He is dreſſed in mail, but here his helmet has a gardeviſure over the face; the whole within a treſſure fleury and counterfleury, and ſeems to make a much better figure than the other, being upon a larger ſcale. This hiſtory is ſurrounded with a bordure, making together ſeventeen inches and a half by eleven; and the part at bottom is three inches and a half deep, on which is repreſented a figure of Banquo, but much mutilated, ſitting on the ground leaning with his right elbow on his helmet, which, with his gauntlets lye by him: from his loins iſſues a tree which runs up the bordure on his right ſide, is continued over the top, and down on the left ſide. On the branches of this tree are fifteen ſmall half-length figures in armour, holding their ſhields of arms in their left hands, and warlike inſtruments in the right, in the following order: 1 Fleanchus, 2 Walterus, 3 Alanus, 4 Alexander, 5 Walterus, 6 Alexander, 7 Andreas, 8 Alexander, 9 Johes, 10 Johes, 11 Thomas, 12 Ricardus, 13 Nicholas, 14 Nicholas, 15 Willus, with the names under each. The ſhields from Banquo to Alanus incluſive are charged with the original coat of Steward, Or a feſs chequè Argent and Azure, and Alexander the ſon of Alanus is repreſented as the perſon to whoſe arms the eſcutcheon with the lion was added by a king of France, earlier than Charles VI. as he is the grandſon of Walter, who firſt aſſumed the name of Steward from his office. This Alexander who died about the year 1199, was founder of the Abbey of Paiſley, and probably had been abroad in the Holy Wars, where he might have met with an adventure that gave riſe to this repreſentation, and this period agrees well with the form of the helmet. As a further confirmation of this, the

ſucceſſors

ſucceſſors of Alexander for ſeven generations bear in their ſhields the royal augmentation only, viz. the lion rampant debruiſed with the bend, after which the original family coat, the feſs chequè, is again reaſſumed without the lion, and Richard the eighth in deſcent from Alexander, and the ſecond from the top on the left ſide of the glaſs, who expunges the augmentation, is repreſented with a ſtaff raguled in his right hand, alluſive to ſuch expulſion.

From Andrew the youngeſt ſon of Alexander, grandſon of this firſt Alexander, the families ſeated in the Iſle of Ely and Hampſhire deſcend, whilſt the royal line of Scotland was carried on by that of John the eldeſt, whoſe ſon Walter is the perſon to whom dean Milles and the Baronetages aſſign the addition of arms, but erroneouſly; for had this been the caſe, the family in Cambridgeſhire, who branched off two generations before, and were only his couſins-german, could not have been entitled to it.

The order of perſons on this glaſs correſponds with various ancient pedigrees in the Heralds College, one of which, entered by the family at the viſitation of the county of Cambridge in 1619, is very copious, and herewith is a copy of ſo much as concerns the repreſentation on this glaſs: it alſo agrees with the extract of the Stewart pedigree given by Mr. Brooke in the Archaeologia, vol. IV. p. 189, except in this, that, from the authority of a manuſcript there quoted, he aſſigns to the ſecond Alexander what is here allotted to the firſt.

From the date on the glaſs 1574, and the genealogy and effigies ending with William Stewart who lived at that time, we may conclude it was executed for him. He was ſeated at Ely, being ſon of Nicholas Stewart of that place by Elizabeth Lucas his wife: he married two wives, 1ſt, Mary daughter of . . . . Fulnetby of Fulnetby co. Linc. Eſq. by whom he had three

daughters, Anne married to Thomas Marſh of Ely, Mildred and Barbara; and 2dly, Catharine daughter of Thomas Payne of Caſtle-Acre in Norfolk, by whom he had Sir Thomas his heir, Catherine, Elizabeth married to Robert Cromwell of the town of Huntingdon, Helen 1ſt, to .... Pooley, 2dly, to Edward Stewart of Lackenheath in Suffolk, Eſq. Jane and Winifred. Sir Thomas Stewart, Knt. his ſon, was ſometime high ſheriff of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon. He married Bridget daughter of John Poole of Poole in Cheſhire, Eſq. but probably died without iſſue, as Oliver Cromwell the Protector, ſon of his ſiſter Elizabeth, is ſaid to have been his heir, and to have ſucceeded to four or five hundred pounds per ann. of his uncle's eſtate.

The Stewarts of Stuntney deſcend from Simeon Stewart, uncle to William of Ely. It is therefore probable, that as being the neareſt neighbouring heir male, upon the extinction of the Ely branch, the Protector Oliver, or whoever inherited their property, might preſent it to them. Thomas Stewart of Stuntney, Eſq. was living at that place 1684.

Banquo

Banquo Thane of Lochaber.

Fleance ſon of Banquo.

Walter who aſſumed the name of Stewart.

Alan Stewart, ſon of Walter.

Alexander Stewart, who added the augmentation to his arms. 5th effigy in the genealogical tree.

Walter Stewart, bore the augmentation only, and expunged his paternal arms. 6th effigy.

Alexander Stewart, 2d ſon.

Andrew Stewart, youngeſt ſon. See Archaeol. IV. p. 189.

Alexander Stewart.

Sir John Stewart, Knt. 2d ſon ſettled in England. = Mary da. of . . . . Talmache.

Sir John Stewart, Knt. ſon and heir. = Maud da. of Sir Thomas Kiriell, Knt.

Thomas Stewart of Soffam, Eſq. 14 Hen. VI. = ... da. of Sir John Hamerton, Knt.

Richard Stewart, Eſq. ſon and heir, expunged the augmentation, and reaſſumed the paternal coat of Stewart. 13th effigy. = ... da. and heir of John Boreley.

Nicholas Stewart of Welle in Norfolk, Eſq. = Cecilia da. of . . . . Baſkerville.

Nicholas Stewart of Ely, Eſq. buried there 10th of Sept. 1558. = Elizabeth da. of . . . . Lucas of Well in Norfolk.

William Stewart of Ely, Eſq. for whom the glaſs was painted, Ann. Dom. 1574.

XXX. *Explanation of the Inſcriptions on a* Roman *Altar and Tablet found at* Tinmouth Caſtle *in* Northumberland, *A. D.* 1783. *By the Rev. Mr.* Brand, *Secretary.*

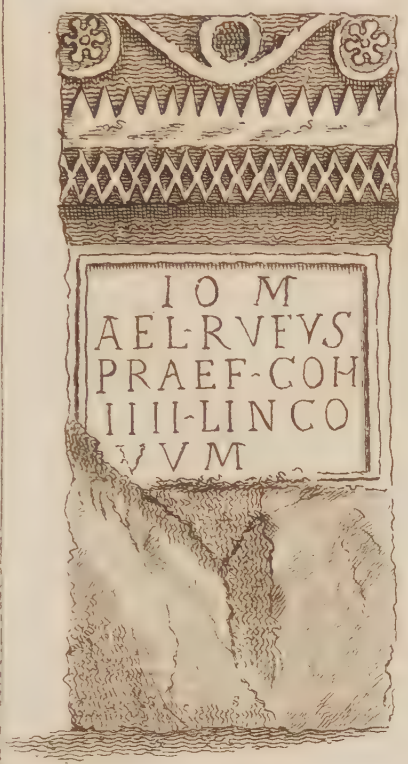
Read May 13, 1784.

N° 1. Pl. XXI. is an exact repreſentation of the front of a Roman altar found in Tinmouth Caſtle in Northumberland, by Major Durnford, at the depth of ſix feet in the earth, where it had been laid as a foundation ſtone, probably of the antient Chriſtian church which is ſaid to have been erected there ſoon after the introduction of that faith into Britain. The lower part of it, by whatever accident, is much defaced, and it is at preſent quite flat at the top, though we may ſuppoſe it to have had originally a focus there, which the workmen, in order to make it ſquare and bed properly, may have been obliged to take off. The inſcription is plainly to be read: "Jovi optimo maximo "Ælius Rufus Præfectus Cohortis quartæ Lingonum." The Lingones were a people of Champagne in France, and are well known to have been among the Roman auxiliary troops of infantry, but this is our firſt information where the fourth Cohort of them was ſtationed in Britain.

N° 2 and 3 give ſide views of this altar: on one of which the prefericulum, ſecuris, ſeceſpita and bullock's head, all of rude deſign and execution, are common ornaments; but the ſnakes, one on each ſide of the patera, on the other, appear ſingular.

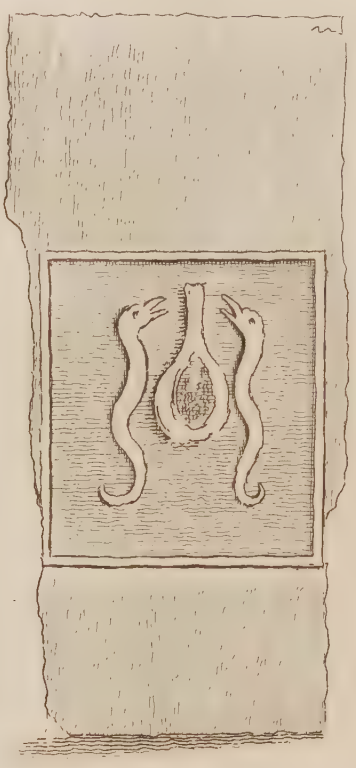
N° 4.

1

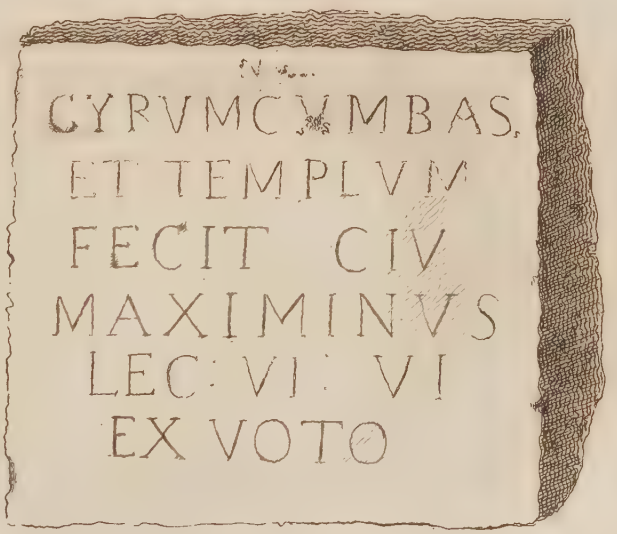


2

3



4



Roman Altar & Tablet found at Tinmouth Castle in Northumberland. A.D 1783.

N° 4 repreſents a ſtone nearly ſquare, one foot nine inches by one foot ten, which was found alſo in the ſame place, June 12, 1783, where it had been laid in the foundation of ſome of the antient buildings.

The firſt letter of what I call the firſt line of the inſcription is confeſſedly faint and doubtful: the ſecond letter appears plainly to be a Y, as does the third to be an R, though at firſt ſight it reſembles a P. There can be no doubt concerning any of the others. Whether or not the ſtone, which I take to have been a tablet on a temple erected there to ſome God of the winds, has undergone any alterations, when it was wrought up in the Chriſtian ſtructure, I am not able to aſcertain. As there are none but the moſt uſual contractions in the other lines, I was induced to think there was none in the firſt, and therefore read the whole:

> Gyrum, Cumbas, et Templum fecit Caius Julius Verus Maximinus Legionis ſextæ victricis ex voto.

I ſuppoſe Gyrum to mean here "a circular harbour for the ſhipping," and, in favour of this hypotheſis, have to obſerve that there is ſtill a receſs of that form, called Prior's Haven, adjoining on the ſouth to Tinmouth Caſtle, which has every appearance of having been one of the artificial harbours of that great people, and is, I preſume, the place alluded to in the inſcription.

Scheffer, in his Book de Militia navali veterum, p. 212, cites Columella, lib. ix. as deſcribing the antient mode of making harbours in the following words: "præjaciuntur in Gyrum "moles."

This word ſeems to have been corrupted afterwards into "Gyrrus" in the baſe Latinity: ſee Dufreſne in verbo, where he gives us a quotation from an authority of the date of A. D. 1064.

1064, in which the following paſſage occurs: "Eant et redeant "piſcatores Gyrrum." If this does not mean that "The "fiſhermen ſhall have ingreſs and regreſs to and from the har- "bour," I fear it will be difficult to point out its ſignification.

Scheffer abovecited, p. 71, ſpeaking of the word "Cumba" being frequently uſed for "Cymba" tells us: "Cumbam no- "minat quam ſupra Cymbam diximus, uſitata Latinis ſcribendi "conſuetudine, qua U Græcorum in U ſuum vertunt."

"Fecit" is with the ſtricteſt propriety uſed here to ſignify "making" a harbour, "building" ſhips or barges, and "erect- ing" a temple.

If this Maximinus be the perſon who was afterwards made emperor, this inſcription may be dated ſome little time before A. D. 235.

XXXI.

XXXI. *An Account of the obſolete Office of Purveyor to the King's Houſhold.* *By* William Bray, *Eſq. F.S.A.*

Read December 14, 1786.

THE office of purveyor to the king's houſhold was heretofore exerciſed with ſo much oppreſſion of the ſubject, and the officer was armed with ſuch authority, as to occaſion continual applications to the king for redreſs, and numerous acts of parliament were paſſed to reſtrain theſe abuſes. From the frequent repetition of ſuch laws, we may collect that they did not anſwer the intended purpoſe. The total abolition of this enormity was one of the advantages derived from the troubles in the laſt century; an end was put to it at the Reſtoration. The name of purveyor indeed ſtill remains amongſt the king's ſervants, but the purveyor of theſe days is nothing more than the tradeſman who ſerves the king as he would any other cuſtomer, and, in general, at as cheap a rate. Releaſed from the tyranny of the ancient purveyor, ("ſallying forth," ſays Mr. Burke in one of his flights of fancy, but with more of fact than is always found in that gentleman's ſpeculations, "from "under the Gothic portcullis to purchaſe proviſions with "power and prerogative inſtead of money, inſpiring terror and "finding a flying and hiding country [*a*]),"* it may not be unſuitable to the reſearches of the Society to take a retroſpec-

[*a*] Speech in Parliament on the projected reformation of the houſhold in 1780.

tive view of an office formerly important both from the uſe and abuſe of it, but now known by the name only, except what is found in the march and quartering of ſoldiers. This part however will be ſo fully treated of by our ingenious member Mr. Groſe in his Hiſtory of the Engliſh Army, that I ſhall mention it very ſlightly, and that chiefly from notes furniſhed by him, who is equally indefatigable in his reſearches, and liberal in his communications.

In the ſimplicity of older times, when gold and ſilver were ſcarce, the houſhold of the king was ſupported by proviſions furniſhed from his demeſnes. By degrees the ſervants here employed obtained a fixed tenure of the eſtates, rendering certain ſervices and ſupplying certain proviſions [*b*]. Many lands were from time to time granted on condition of yielding ſuch ſupplies, but theſe reſervations were ſmall, and many of them only to be rendered when the king travelled into the country where the lands lay. In ſome, ſpecial care was taken that he ſhould not make this ſervice burthenſome by coming too often; as in the caſe of William ſon of William Aleſbury, who held lands in Aleſbury by finding (amongſt other things) three eels for the king, when he ſhould come to Aleſbury in the winter, and two green geeſe in the ſummer; but this was not to exceed three times in the year [*c*]. The town of Yarmouth in Norfolk is bound to ſend to the ſheriffs of Norwich a hundred herrings, which are to be baked in twenty-four pyes or paſties, and thence delivered to the lord of the manor of Eaſt Carlton, who is to convey them to the king. They are ſtill ſent to the clerk of the kitchen's office at Saint James's; but the pyes could never have been of much ſervice as proviſions, unleſs they were made differently from what they now are, or our anceſtors had

[*b*] Blackſtone's Comm. lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 99.
[*c*] Blount's Tenures, p. 123.

ſtronger teeth and ſtomachs than we have [*d*]. In 1778 the ſheriffs of Norwich attended with them in perſon, and claimed the following allowance in return, viz.

6 white loaves,
6 diſhes of meat, } out of the king's kitchen.
1 flagon of wine.
1 flagon of beer.
1 truſs of hay.
1 buſhell of oats.
1 pricket of wax.
6 tallow candles.

But no precedent appearing of theſe things having been delivered, they were refuſed [*e*].

Theſe ſupplies muſt often have failed. In aid of them a market for proviſions was conſtantly kept at the palace-gate wherever the king was. This was ſuperintended by an officer called *clerk of the market of the king's houſe*, who was to burn all falſe weights and meaſures [*f*], to precede the king in his progreſſes, and warn the people to bake and brew, and make proviſion againſt his coming, and by the oaths of twelve men to ſet the prices of proviſions [*g*], beyond which no perſons attending the court were to pay [*h*].

But to enſure the ſupply of the king's houſe, the crown was poſſeſſed of a prerogative of purveyance and pre-emption, i. e. a right of buying up proviſions and other neceſſaries for the royal houſhold at an appraiſed valuation, in preference to all others,

[*d*] Ibid. p. 135.
[*e*] Records at the Green-cloth.
[*f*] 4. Inſt. 273.
[*g*] Black book of the accompting-houſe, in the Society's library.
[*h*] Order of council temp. Eliz. quoted by Phillips in his Treatiſe of Purveyance, p. 132.

and even without the owner's conſent; the carriages and horſes of the ſubject were alſo liable to be impreſſed on the king's buſineſs on the public roads, in the conveyance of timber, baggage and the like, however inconvenient it might be to the proprietor, on paying him a fixt price [*i*]. The king's butler had a right to chooſe for the king two hogſheads of wine out of every merchant's ſhip laden with wine, one in the prow, the other in the poop, paying to the merchants only twenty ſhillings each; he might take more if he would at a price to be fixed by the king's appraiſers [*k*]; purveyance however was to be made between ſun and ſun, and nothing was to be taken in the highway [*l*]. Hides, leather, and other neceſſaries were taken for making the king's ſaddles, beans and peaſe for his horſes [*m*]. Lord Coke ſays, that meat and drink was only to be taken by the king in his progreſs, and that in his ſtanding-houſe he could not take beer, ale, or bread, being manufacture; but malt, having the ſubſtance of barley remaining, might be taken [*n*].

Spelman in his Gloſſary, under the word *angaria*, defines purveyance to be, "Id quod præter debitum exigitur per ſupe-"riores a ſubditis: ſive in pecunia, ſive in obſoniis, ſive in ope-"ribus perſonarum, equorum, curruumve, et hujuſmodi."

Fabian Phillips, a warm royaliſt, and a ſteady aſſerter of prerogative and old cuſtoms, wrote a long treatiſe on purveyance ſoon after its abolition. In this are to be found many curious particulars, mixed with many abſurdities. He finds purveyance in the Book of Geneſis, in the houſholds of David and Solomon,

[*i*] Blackſtone, lib. i. c. 8. p. 287.
[*k*] Fleta, lib. ii. cap. 22.
[*l*] Bacon's works, vol. II. p. 150.
[*m*] Moore's Reports, a° 1605, p. 765.
[*n*] 2 Inſt. 545.

traces

traces it through all the quarters of the globe, derives its inſtitution in England from the Romans [*o*], and obſerves that it was continued here by the Saxons and Danes.

Ina, by one of his laws, prohibits *forefang* or "captio obſoniorum quæ in foris aut nundinis ab aliquo fit prius quam miniſter regis ea ceperit quæ regi fuerint neceſſaria [*p*]."

Æthelſtan, who reigned in 938, having ſubdued the Welch, and impoſed on them a yearly tribute, made 2500 head of cattle a part of it [*q*], thereby conſulting the ſervice of his houſe as well as the then poverty of the country.

The buſineſs of purveyance was intruſted to officers called purveyors. They were in very early times appointed by the treaſurer of the houſhold, by warrant under his ſeal, directed to the clerk of the crown in chancery, who made out their commiſſions [*r*]; theſe commiſſions were ſometimes under the ſmall, ſometimes under the great, ſeal [*s*], but in later times, under the great ſeal only [*t*], and were uſually granted for ſix months, at the expiration of which time they were returned to the accompting-houſe (i. e. the board of Green-cloth), when the treaſurer of the houſhold either ſuperſcribed them and directed them to the clerk of the crown to be renewed, or granted new warrants. The form of theſe commiſſions will be ſubjoined.

[*o*] That it was practiſed by the Romans is noticed by Mr. Barrington in his Obſervations on the Ancient Statutes, p. 162. He quotes Tacitus in vitâ Agric. c. 19. Quæ in quæſtum reperta, ipſo tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium aſſidere clauſis horreis, et emere ultro frumenta, ac vendere cogebantur.

[*p*] Spelman's Gloſſ. ſub voce Forefang.

[*q*] Speed. p. 381.

[*r*] Black book ut ſupra.

[*s*] Stat. 5 E. III. c. 2.

[*t*] 2 Inſt. 545.

But in 1574 and 1576, the earl of Leiceſter, who was maſter of the horſe to queen Elizabeth, iſſued his warrant to compel the furniſhing horſes for her progreſs, and by a letter only, ordered the knight-marſhal to apprehend and puniſh all ſuch as one Middleton, a ſurveyor of the ſtables, ſhould inform not to have done their duty in furniſhing proviſions for the ſtables [*u*].

In times when the court removed from one place to another ſo frequently as it uſed formerly to do, and when markets were few, and proviſions much leſs abundant than they now are, theſe officers were particularly neceſſary; but veſted with the powers of an acknowledged prerogative, in times when the people were little able to contend even with unjuſt exertions of power, it is not to be wondered at if purveyors abuſed their authority.

Religious houſes were not exempt except by charter, and the viſits of our kings may be conſidered as a ſort of purveyance. The great fiſh pool at St. Alban's was the occaſion of many of theſe viſits, which were ſo expenſive to the abbey that they purchaſed and drained it in order to get rid of ſuch troubleſome gueſts [*x*]. To be freed from purveyance was conſidered by the monks as a very valuable privilege, and ſo it was, as William the Firſt obliged them to find lodging and neceſſaries for his ſoldiers, as well as proviſions for himſelf. The abbat of Ramſay and the abbat of Battle obtained charters of exemption from purveyance from that monarch, and they became frequent in after times [*y*]. Edward the Third in his firſt year exempted the

[*u*] Phillips, p. 201, but as the earl was ſteward of the houſhold in ſome part of this reign (ſee Dugd. Bar. II. 222.) he might iſſue theſe warrants in that capacity.

[*x*] Chauncey's Herts, p. 431.

[*y*] Phillips, p. 177. I do not find theſe charters in the Monaſticon. There is one granted by Edward the Confeſſor to Ramſey, in which are theſe words; "Relaxamus

the clergy at large from furniſhing carts and victuals for the houſhold [z]. In his twenty-fifth year the clergy petitioned that no commiſſion of purveyance ſhould be granted without excepting the fees, manors, and other places of holy church; the king's anſwer is, that he has heretofore granted it, and he who will ſue ſhall have a writ in chancery [a]. There were officers called *harbingers* who preceded the king in his progreſſes, and took care to provide lodgings for him and his attendants. Though this buſineſs has grown into diſuſe ſince the king has ceaſed to travel about the kingdom, the office remained till 1782 when it was aboliſhed. There was a gentleman harbinger, and five other harbingers, the former with a ſalary of ſixty pounds, the latter of fifty pounds each. The herbergeours of the army preceded the troops to mark out their quarters, and it appears that great perſons attending on the king had particular quarters aſſigned them, ſome for life, as in the caſe of Thomas earl of Dorſet, to whom Henry V. 1414, aſſigned the town of Stratford Langthorn with the pariſh of Ham in Eſſex for life, for the herbergage of his men ſervants and horſes whilſt attending the king at Weſtminſter, inſomuch that the king's harberger could not aſſign it to any other, nor take from thence graſs, hay, horſes, carts, carriages, or other neceſſaries during his ſtay there; but the earl was to pay juſtly for all hay, horſes, carts, &c. taken for his uſe [b]. Chriſtchurch,

" Relaxamus—exactiones regalium et epiſcopalium miniſtrorum," Dugd. Mon. v. I. 237. And Spelman, under the word *angaria*, quotes a charter of William the Conqueror to the abbey of Ramſey, which is probably that alluded to by Phillips, in which are theſe words; " Volo ut nullis unquam graventur oneribus expeditionum, nec pontium reſtructione, nec furis apprehenſione, ſed ab omni angaria regalium miniſtrorum et aliarum quarumcunque cauſarum ſint perpetui expediti et liberi."

[z] Ibid.

[a] Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 245.

[b] Ib. IV. p. 22. 94.

Canford

Canford and Poole were granted for the herbergage of the earl of Saliſbury whilſt attending the king in thoſe parts in the reign of Henry V. [*c*]. Under William Rufus and during a great part of the reign of Henry the Firſt, the king's ſervants and court, and a multitude following it, took and ſpoiled every thing in the way the king went, there being no diſcipline or good order taken. When they could not conſume what they found in the houſes they had broken into, they made the owners carry it to market and ſell it for them; or burnt their proviſions, or waſhed their horſes feet with the drink, and poured it on the ground, or otherwiſe waſted it, ſo that every one hearing before hand of the king's coming would run away from their houſes [*d*].

Henry, however, when under apprehenſions from his brother Robert, regulated his houſhold. "Curialibus ſuis" (ſays William of Malmeſbury) "ubicunque villarum eſſet quantum a ruſticis gratis accipere, quantum et quoto pretio emere debuiſſent, edixit, tranſgreſſores vel gravi pecuniarum mulcta, vel vitæ diſpendio afficiens" [*e*].

This king, at the requeſt of the tenants of his demeſnes changed their rent which uſed to be paid in corn, cattle, and proviſions, into money [*f*]. Phillips thinks the markets at the court-gates were diſcontinued in this reign [*g*]. At length the abuſes of purveyance got to that height, that they make the ſubject of three articles in the charter which the barons obtained from king John at Runingmede. By the firſt, the conſtable or bailiff of a caſtle was reſtrained from taking corn or other chattles of any man not of the town where the cattle was,

[*c*] Rymer, IX. p. 259.
[*d*] Eadmerus, lib. iv. p. 94.
[*e*] Malmeſb. lib. v. 91.
[*f*] Phillips, p. 60.
[*g*] Id. p. 60.

without

without making immediate payment, unleſs the ſeller agreed to wait; but if the ſeller was of the town, three weeks were allowed for payment by the firſt renewal of this charter in 1 Henry III. and this was further extended to forty days by the charter of the year 1217 (as Blackſtone calls it [*b*]), and that of 9 Henry III. By the 30th chapter of John's charter, no ſheriff or bailiff of the king, or any other, was to take any man's horſes or carriages but by his conſent; the ſubſequent charters add, "but at the old prices limited, viz. a carriage with two "horſes ten pence a day, with three horſes fourteen pence a "day [*i*]." The latter exempts the demeſne carts of ſpiritual perſons, knights and ladies [*k*]. King John's charter prohibited the taking any man's wood for the king's caſtles, or other neceſſaries without the owner's conſent [*l*]; and this was confirmed by the ſubſequent charters [*m*]; but, notwithſtanding this, it appears that wood was taken, and that money was extorted from the owners by demanding ſuch as grew about the manſion-houſe and could be ill-ſpared. The ſtatute of 25 Edward III. gives treble damages for taking ſuch wood; and the purveyor was to be impriſoned a year and fore-judged of his office [*n*]. We hear however the ſame complaint under James the Firſt.

By the charta foreſtæ (9 Henry III. cap. 7.) it appears that the king's officers of his foreſts uſed to make ſcotall or gather garb, oats, corn, lamb, pig, and other things, as it is thereby forbidden to any forſter or bedill to do ſo but by the view and oath of twelve men.

[*b*] Blackſtone's Great Charter.
[*i*] Charter 1 Hen. III. c. 23. that of 1217, c. 25, and 9 Hen. III. c. 21.
[*k*] Cap. 26.
[*l*] Cap. 31.
[*m*] 1217, cap. 22. and 9 Hen. III. cap. 21.
[*n*] Stat. 5. cap. 6.

In that reign there was another method of procuring proviſions for the king, which was by writs directed to the ſheriffs, ordering them to make proviſions of mutton, poultry, eggs, &c. againſt Chriſtmas and other principal feaſts [*o*]. Theſe were alſo iſſued for ſome of the kings of Scotland and their trains, in their paſſage as they came to London to do homage to our kings [*p*]. Sometimes theſe writs were ſent to the chamberlains of London to provide wine, ſpices, and furres, to be paid *de denariis regis*; at other times to others, to provide corn, bacon, &c. for fortifying a caſtle, promiſing that the ſheriff ſhould make payment, and be allowed upon his account out of the profits of the county [*q*]. It may be ſuppoſed that theſe proviſions were taken at under prices.

It appears by the ſtatute of Weſtminſter, a° 3 Edward I. that the purveyors uſed to enter houſes under colour of buying for the king, break the doors, locks, and windows, and thraſh out and carry away the corn; and that they paid no more regard to the houſes of prelates than they did to thoſe of the laiety.

The ſecond chapter of articuli ſuper chartas a° 28 Edward I. is a long one levelled againſt the abuſes of theſe officers. The grievance was ſuch as to be provided againſt next after the confirmation of the great charter and charter of the foreſt, and recites that there was a great grievance in the realm, and damage without meaſure, for that the king and miniſters of his houſe, as well aliens as denizens, do make great prizes (i. e. takings) where they paſs through the realm, and take the goods as well of the clerks as of the lay people, without paying therefore any thing, or elſe much leſs than the value.

Edward the Second, in his ſixteenth year, ſent his writ to the juſtices of the King's-Bench, commanding them to puniſh the

[*o*] Phillips, p. 60. 130. [*p*] Ib. p. 131. [*q*] Ib. p. 60.

infringers

infringers of theſe ſtatutes [*r*]; but the ſteward of his houſhold exerciſed his power of purveyance with a high hand, even in the city of London, notwithſtanding the great privileges of that place. A° 18, he commanded that no fiſhmonger, on pain of impriſonment, ſhould go out of the city to foreſtall any ſea or freſh fiſh, or ſend them to any great lord or religious houſe, or any perſon whatſoever, till the king's purveyors ſhould have made their purveyance for the king [*s*].

The ſtatute of eſtreats in the ſixteenth of this king orders, that purveyance of wines be made by the view of good men of the town, at leaſt of two of the beſt of the place, and if there were any collectors of the cuſtoms there, they were to be preſent [*t*]. The forty-third of the following reign ſtates, that, under colour of this, the butler took more wine than was wanted for the king, and ſold it for his own profit, and forbids the doing ſo.

In the fourth of Edward the Third, an act ſtates, that the king, queen, and their children, oppreſſed the people by not paying for corn, hay, cattle, and other vittailes, which they took, and by taking twenty-five quarters of corn for twenty, meaſuring by *heap*, and taking hay and litter at leſs than the value; it directs, that nothing be taken without conſent of the owner, that corn be taken by the *ſtrike as men uſe throughout the kingdom*, and that the things be taken at their true value by conſtables and other good men of the vill, who ſhould not be enforced by menace, or dureſs, to aſſeſs any other price than their oath would allow.

So little was this act regarded, that another was found neceſſary the very next year (a° 5.); and by that, a purveyor tranſ-

[*r*] Phillips, p. 62.
[*s*] Ibid. p. 421.
[*t*] Append. Ruffhead's Statutes, p. 23.

greſſing the law was to be puniſhed as a thief, if the quantity of goods require. But a petition of the commons, a° 28 of this king, ſtates, that purveyors who had been taken up under this law harraſſed thoſe who ventured to take them, by obtaining writs of privy ſeal to bring them before the king and council; they pray that the purveyors may be put to their action at law, which was granted [*u*].

The act of 14 Edward III. cap. 19. contains further regulations as to takings and payments. It directs as to horſes, that they be taken by the ſheriff, that the number be expreſſed in the warrant, and nothing beyond, except a hackney for the chief keeper, and one boy for each horſe, without women, pages, or dogs accompanying them. Purveyances for the king's dogs were to be made by the ſheriff out of the iſſues of his bailiwick.

No ſeverity of law could, however, reſtrain the rapacity of theſe plunderers, and though in the twentieth year of this king's reign, ſeveral were hanged for tranſgreſſing this law [*x*], it was found neceſſary to re-enact it five years after [*y*]. One of their frauds was the taking ſheep between Eaſter and St. John with their fleeces on, keeping them till ſhearing time, and then taking the fleeces to their own uſe [*z*].

A petition of the commons, anno 28 Edward III. ſets forth, that the purveyors of the king, thoſe of the queen, and thoſe of the prince, would come ſucceſſively to the ſame houſe, which they ſay was too grievous [*a*]. This petition and an act of the ſame year explain another impoſition; purveyors were ordered

[*u*] Rolls of Parl. vol. II. p. 260.
[*x*] 2 Inſt. 546.
[*y*] 25 Edw. III. ſtat. 5. cap. 1.
[*z*] Ibid. cap. 15.
[*a*] Rolls of Parl. vol. II. p. 258.

to pay by tallies: theſe they gave payable at ſuch diſtant places, that the act ſays, the people ſpent the value, and double, in going after them, before they could get the money.

In the thirty-fourth year of this king, it appears that the great men had aſſumed the privilege of purveyance, and it is by an act [*b*] reſtrained to the king, queen, and the king's eldeſt ſon. Two years after, the latter was alſo taken away [*c*]: and ſuch was the odium incurred by the purveyors, that the act directs that the heinous name of *purveyor* be changed into that of *achatour*, i. e. buyer. This would not have gone far towards remedying the evil; but it is followed by many excellent regulations. To ſee to the executions of theſe, commiſſions were to be made to two good men of every county, and one of the king's houſe, to enquire into the conduct of the *achatours*, and to hear and determine complaints. The ſteward, treaſurer, and comptroler, were to make enquiry into what was taken, and what was expended, in the two houſholds of the king and queen; and if the achatours took more than they delivered, and did not pay for what they took, they were to forfeit life and limb.

This was to extend to the *purveyors* of great horſes as well as to the buyers before named; the name therefore of purveyor was retained by theſe, and it is again recognized in the next chapter.

The firſt of theſe acts (36 Edward III. cap. 6.) ſtates it to be made of the pure grace of the king, without mention of the great men or commons; and Sir Edward Coke ſays, that the occaſion of making this act, and that of the twenty-fifth, was a book written to the king in Latin by Simon Iſlip (archbiſhop of Canterbury, and before that a ſecretary of ſtate and a privy

[*b*] Cap. 2.
[*c*] 36 Edw. III. cap. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

councellor),

councellor), ſharply inveighing againſt the intolerable abuſes of purveyors and purveyances, and earneſtly preſſing and adviſing him to make remedies for thoſe inſufferable oppreſſions and wrongs offered to his ſubjects. This book the king often peruſing, it wrought ſuch effect as at divers of his parliaments, but eſpecially at that in his thirty-ſixth year, he did *of his own will* cauſe to be made many excellent laws againſt the oppreſſions and falſehood of purveyors [*d*].

But notwithſtanding this aſſertion in the act, repeated by Sir Edward Coke, it appears by the Rolls of Parliament, that the act of the thirty-ſixth was founded on a very ſtrong petition of the commons, ſetting forth the great charges and miſchiefs they ſuffered in his time, and the misfortunes which had happened by divers peſtilences of wind and water, and mortality of men and cattle; they ſtate, that the outrages and grievances done by the purveyors of the king, queen, and their eldeſt ſon, and of other lords and ladies to the commonalty, cannot be redreſſed nor amended without the king's gracious aid, and then they pray in words which are nearly copied into the act [*e*]. But it is obſervable that in one inſtance the king goes beyond their petition, reſtraining the purveyors to the ſervice of the king and queen, excluſive of the prince, which they did not aſk; the change of the name of *purveyour* into that of *achatour* is ſuggeſted in the petition.

In fact there had been many petitions, before this, praying redreſs of theſe grievances: the anſwers were, that order ſhould be given [*f*]; that the ſtatutes ſhould be kept [*g*]; that one caſe was on great neceſſity with conſent of the prelates and great

[*d*] 2 Inſt. 545.
[*e*] Rolls of Parl. vol. II. p. 269.
[*f*] Id. vol. II. p. 140. a° 17 Ed. III. id. vol. II. 161. 169. a° 20 Edw. III.
[*g*] Id. vol. II. p. 242. a° 25 Edw. III.

men,

men, and ſome of the commons then preſent, but ſhould not be drawn into conſequence [*b*].

A tranſcript of this book of Iſlip's is now amongſt the Harleian MSS. at the Muſeum, N° 6237. The good archbiſhop uſes the plaineſt language to the king, and does not confine his complaints to the article of purveyance; he enumerates many other grievances; he tells the king that his own debts, and thoſe of his father and grandfather are unpaid; and that he retains poſſeſſion of the lands of many of his ſubjects; that there is univerſal lamentation in the country on hearing of his approach, univerſal joy on his departure, and this notwithſtanding the king himſelf is humble, affable, mild, and innocent, but his ſervants take the people's goods without their conſent, and for leſs than the value; then they muſt go five or ſix miles for their money, ſtay a day, and perhaps not receive it unleſs they give part; that his ſervants take men, horſes, and cattle, laboring in agriculture, and keep them two or three days, which is not lawful even in war; that they come and demand men, horſes, and carriages, in a pariſh, take half a mark, or more, to excuſe them: the next day, or even the ſame day, come others to the ſame place, and take the men, horſes, and carriages, notwithſtanding the compoſition. He adjures the king with great ſolemnity and earneſtneſs on behalf of Almighty God, of holy church, of the people of England, and for the health and ſafety of his ſoul, to make a law that no one ſhall, under a heavy penalty, take the goods of another againſt his will, but buy as he can agree with the ſeller, and pay ready money. Then, ſays he, all men will bring all neceſſaries to your gate as they did in the time of Henry your great grandfather, at whoſe approach all men rejoiced. He ſays it is not to be wondered at that there ſhould be ſuch lamentations in the country, when he, the arch-

[*b*] Phillips, p. 67, 68.

biſhop

biſhop himſelf, on rumour of his approach, trembles *on hearing his horn,* whether he is in the houſe or at maſs; when one of the king's ſervants knocks at the gate, he trembles more; when he comes to the door, ſtill more: and this terror continues ſo long as the king ſtays, on account of the various evils done to the poor. He thinks his harbingers come not on behalf of God, but of the devil; when the horn is heard, every one trembles; and when the harbinger arrives, inſtead of ſaying, as the good angel did to the bleſſed Virgin, "fear not!" he cries, he muſt have oats, hay, and litter, for the king's horſes—a ſecond comes and ſays, he muſt have geeſe, hens, and many other things; a third is at his heels, and demands corn, &c.

He prays the king not to defer till the morrow the remedying theſe evils. The remedy is eaſy; let every one be maſter of his own goods, and let nothing be taken without conſent. His courtiers would tell him, he would be no longer king in his own land, and would neither get any thing to eat or drink; but, ſays the good archbiſhop, I tell you before God, that, if the people were certain that their goods would not be taken without their conſent, they would *bring all neceſſaries to your gate.* He ſays the curſed prerogative of taking for leſs than the value is damnable before God, *and was only uſed in the time of the king's father and grandfather*, and has continued about forty years, but is not held of right, nor is of any ſtrength, being contrary to all law human and divine, and that on this account many ſouls are in hell [*i*].

We

[*i*] He mentions the king's expences on great horſes, and ſays, one great horſe muſt have at leaſt one boy to keep it, whoſe pay is one penny halfpenny a day; oats two pence; hay one penny; amounting to four pence halfpenny a day, two ſhillings and ſeven pence halfpenny a week, which would keep four or five poor people. Cap. 8.

In cap. 13. he tells the king, that if he does not amend, "ad mortem tu "dices heu! heu! heu! et quare ter *heu*, dico, dices? primo *Heu*, quod un-

"quam

We ſee that the king paid attention to this honeſt advice, but the evil was only checked, for after Tyler's inſurrection was ſuppreſſed in the beginning of the reign of Richard II. and when acts of indemnity were paſſed on that occaſion, it was thought neceſſary to enact, that the ſtatutes of *purveyors* ſhould be kept [*k*]; an object of importance enough to engage the attention of parliament at that time. Purveyance for great lords and ladies again prevailed, and was further reſtrained the next year [*l*].

No ſtatute appears in the reign of Henry the Fourth, except one to extend the payment of ready money to all things of the value of forty ſhillings, or under [*m*]; but in the eleventh year of his reign, the judges allowed the right of taking proviſions for the king at a reaſonable price, though the owner ſhould not be willing to ſell them [*n*].

An act of 1 Henry V. recites that eight buſhels was the meaſure of a quarter, and eight gallons of a buſhel, but that the *purveyors* of the late and preſent king took nine buſhels of wheat and other corn for a quarter, often by a meaſure not ſealed, and *not by ſtrike*, againſt the will of the ſellers, and without any price fixed as it ought to be by law, and made the ſellers carry the corn to what place they pleaſed without paying for the carriage; it then enacts that eight buſhels only be taken *by ſtrike*, and the carriage paid for under pain of impriſonment

" quam natus fuiſti; et quare? quia ſemper fuit *Heu* ubicunque in terram " tuam veniſti! ſed majus *Heu* erit tibi quando anima tua ſeparabitur a corpore " et liberabitur diabolo! ſed maximum *Heu* erit tibi quando anima tua portabitur ad infernum."

[*k*] Stat. 6 Ric. II. cap. 2.

[*l*] Stat. 7 Ric. II. cap. 8.

[*m*] Stat. 2 Hen. IV. cap. 14.

[*n*] Brooke ayd del Roy 29.

for a year, a fine of one hundred ſhillings to the king, and as much to the party [*o*].

The firſt of Henry VI. cap. 2. in order that no one might be ignorant of the laws relating to this matter, directs the acts to be proclaimed four times a year in every county.

A ſubſequent ſtatute in this reign authorizes reſiſtance on taking to the value of forty ſhillings without paying ready money, and directs the act of 36 Edward III. to be put in execution [*p*].

Three years after, about the time of the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, a ſtatute was made to enforce thoſe of 25 and 36 Edward III. probably by way of procuring ſome popularity, and pleaſing the people to whom that match was not very acceptable. It orders the purveyors to be ſworn in Chancery to take nothing from the people contrary to the ſaid ordinances; and taking notice that poor people had not power, and did not dare, make reſiſtance againſt the *purveyors* or *achatours*, nor ſue them at law when they acted contrary to the ſtatutes, it ordains, that the appraiſers and all the vill or vills adjoining if need be, ſhould uſe all their power to reſiſt ſuch achatours and purveyors acting contrary to the ſtatute, and to execute the ſtatutes on ſuch purveyors if required, and the perſon aggrieved might ſue the vills, or any of them, who ſhould not make reſiſtance, or the purveyors or achatours, and recover treble damages and coſts, and the ſerjeant of the king's accatry was to ſatisfy all damages, debts, and executions, recovered againſt any purveyor and achatour in ſuch caſes, if he was unable to ſatisfy.

In the ſame reign the innkeepers, brewers, and other vitaillers, keeping hoſtries and other houſes for retail of vittailes,

[*o*] Cap. 10.

[*p*] 20 Henry VI. cap. 8.

purchaſed

purchaſed patents of the king for life, to take horſes and charrettes for carriage of the king and queen, and under colour thereof took them without occaſion, and took them to their hoſtries and kept them ſecretly, and then made the owners pay for their keeping before they would re-deliver them, and ſometimes made the people pay fines to avoid the ſervice. An act was paſſed in the 28th of this king (cap. 2.) to make ſuch patents void, but with a ſaving of the king's prerogative and pre-eminence.

Henry VII. ſeems not to have allowed his prerogative to be queſtioned, as no act was paſſed in his reign relative to purveyance; but Phillips ſays, there was a tradition in the houſehold, that he, for the better government of the expences of his houſe, and their proviſion of diet, put a rate as well on the quantity, as the quality and price; that the price was probably little leſs than the market price, and that it continued in the reign of Henry VIII. when Cardinal Wolſey, chancellor, and the king's privy council, made certain conſtitutions touching the well ordering and government of the king's houſehold, *al honneur de Diu et a honneur et profit de ſaint Egliſe, et al honneur du roy et a ſon profit et du profit de ſon peuple* [*q*].

By a ſtatute made in 27 Henry VIII. for recontinuing liberties in the crown, after ſtating that divers of the moſt ancient prerogatives and authorities of juſtice appertaining to the crown had been taken from the ſame by divers grants of the king's progenitors, it is enacted, that purveyors aſſigned by the king's commiſſioner for proviſions for his grace, the queen, and their children, may provide corn, &c. according to their commiſſion, as well within liberties as without, any grants to the contrary notwithſtanding, they obſerving the ſtatutes [*r*].

[*q*] Phillips, p. 77, 78.
[*r*] Cap. xxiv. ſect. 10, 11.

The dean and chapter of St. Paul's afterwards had a charter granted them with a *non obſtante* of this ſtatute, by virtue whereof they, their tenants, and farmers, were diſcharged from this burthen [*s*]. Soon after the acceſſion of Edward VI. a law was made, that for three years to come no proviſion ſhould be taken without conſent of the owner and for ready money; nor ſhould goods or other things be taken for the king's affairs, or for the wars, except barges, ſhips, carts, and other things neceſſary for carriage, without conſent of the owner, and for ready money; ſaving poſt-horſes, for which a penny a mile ſhould be paid. The king would allow for every cart taken for his houſhold four pence a mile, and for the wars and other carriages three pence a mile.

Queen Mary, in her third parliament, on great complaints being made, endeavoured to regulate theſe obnoxious officers, enforcing former laws, and adding further cautions. In the ſame parliament the two Univerſities ſtate that the market-towns of Cambridge and Oxford, and the circuit of five miles adjoining, had been time out of mind free from purveyors of victual, whereby thoſe markets were more plentifully ſerved, and the poor eſtate of many ſcholars relieved, but that purveyors had of late frequented thoſe markets, and made victuals more ſcant and dear, to the great decay of the ſcholars, and daily *in the then great dearth* like to encreaſe; whereupon an act was paſſed [*t*], that no purveyor ſhould take or bargain for any victual or grain in thoſe market-towns, or within five miles thereof, without conſent of the owner, nor attempt to take any victual brought within five miles for any college, under forfeiture of four times the value, and three months impriſonment without bail. But this act was not to be in force when their

[*s*] Phillips. [*t*] Cap. 6.

majeſties,

majeſties, or the ſucceſſors of the queen, ſhould come to either Univerſity or within ſeven miles.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, ſome of the counties to avoid the trouble they had in procuring their money for goods taken by the purveyors, which was not a little by reaſon of the many offices, cheques, entries, and comptrolments through which the accounts were to paſs, petitioned her to accept the value in money, to be yearly paid by the counties. Phillips ſays ſhe would not hearken to this, but did afterwards come to an agreement what proportion ſeveral counties ſhould yearly ſerve in oxen, calves, muttons, poultry, corn, &c. and that theſe agreements continued all her reign, and that of James the Firſt [*u*]. In ſettling theſe, the remote counties which had leſs benefit by the royal reſidence, bore very little; the counties adjacent to the metropolis took the principal ſhare, which Phillips ſays they could well afford, as their rents, in the time of Charles I. were improved to twenty times more than they were in the reign of Henry VII. and ten times more than they were in the 18th of Elizabeth [*x*].

Theſe compoſitions were made by the juſtices of the peace in each county upon agreement with the officers of the Green Cloth, for ſerving a certain quantity of proviſions at ſuch rates and prices as were fixed between them. The difference between that price and the value at market was raiſed by an aſſeſſment in the county, and paid to the owners of the goods, but copyhold eſtates and ſmall freeholds uſually paid nothing towards theſe proviſions [*y*]. A pariſh thinking itſelf over-rated as to quantity to be ſerved, appealed to the Green Cloth, from whence

[*u*] Phillips, p. 78.
[*x*] Id. p. 80, 81.
[*y*] Id. p. 313. 329.

an

an order was ſent to the Quarter Seſſions to examine into it [z]. The royal prices were far ſhort of the market prices, as will appear by the following ſpecimen:

Middleſex.	King's price.			Market price.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Wheat, 200 quarters	0	6	8	2	0	0
Veals, 40	0	12	0	1	2	0
Veals, 100	0	6	8	1	2	0
Green geeſe, 20 dozen at	0	3	0	0	18	0
Capons courſe, 10 dozen	0	4	0	0	16	0
Hens, 20 dozen	0	2	0	0	12	0
Pullets, 20 dozen	0	1	6	0	10	0
Chickens, 40 dozen	0	2	0	0	6	0
Hay, 202 loads	0	4	0	1	10	0
Litter, 180 loads	0	4	0	0	10	0
Oats, 211 quarters, 2 buſhels	0	4	0	0	12	0
Wood, 200 loads	0	3	0	0	7	0

The difference of this upon the whole, in favor of the crown, amounts to no leſs than 917 *l.* 19 *s.* The difference on the articles furniſhed by Derbyſhire was no more than 254 *l.* 2 *s.* 4 *d.*

The cattle thus ſupplied were kept in certain paſtures of the king's, appropriated for that purpoſe; amongſt theſe were lands at Deptford in Kent, and Creſlow paſtures in Bucks.

The fiſhing towns of Harwich, Southwold, Dunwich, Yarmouth, Wells, and Lynne, paid one hundred lings out of every ſhip load; and Harwich, Alboro', Dunwich, Walderſwick, Southwold, Yarmouth, Wells, Barnam, and Lynne, one hundred cods out of each ſhip [a].

[z] Records at the Green Cloth.

[a] Phillips, p. 337.

An

An act of the 5th of this queen [*b*] for maintenance of the navy, in order to encourage the fiſheries in Engliſh ſhips, directs, that no purveyor ſhall take any herrings or other fiſh in the ſhips of her ſubjects there mentioned, without the owner's conſent; but the compoſition fiſh, thentofore granted to the queen by her ſubjects travelling into Iſeland, ſhall be taken by her officers and purveyors as uſed to be done. It alſo reſerves all regal fiſhes for ſuch recompence as thentofore accuſtomed.

This compoſition for Iſeland fiſh has been paid to the Green Cloth till a few years ago. The officers of that board appointed a man at Broadſtairs, in the Iſle of Thanet, to collect it, and allowed him three ſhillings in the pound. It produced ſometimes one hundred pounds a year, but generally much ſmaller ſums, and at laſt has been entirely diſcontinued.

But though Elizabeth would not grant the requeſt of the counties to take money inſtead of proviſions, ſhe hanged one of her purveyors in her thirty-ſecond year, for forcibly taking proviſions without paying for them [*c*]. Proſecutions were alſo carried on in the Star-chamber againſt ſome of her purveyors; but ſhe ordered Sir Thomas Egerton, the lord keeper, to ſtop the proceedings there, as an encroachment on the prerogative royal in her houſhold, and commanded that the matter ſhould be heard before the lord Buckhurſt, lord treaſurer, the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, Sir John Forteſcue, chancellor of the Exchequer (commiſſioners for houſhold cauſes), Sir William Knollys, comptroller of the houſhold, and the reſt of the officers of the Green Cloth, in the compting-houſe; and the cauſe was heard there accordingly [*d*].

[*b*] Cap. v. ſect. 4 and 5.
[*c*] Coke in artic. ſup. chartas 2 Inſt. 546.
[*d*] Records at the Green Cloth.

In

In this queen's time great complaints were made by the city of London, that the purveyors took the firſt carts they could find, and frightened away thoſe from the country that uſed to bring proviſions; whereupon a regulation was made, that the carts in London, and reſorting to it, ſhould ſerve the queen four times in a year, and the management was given to the governors of Chriſt's Hoſpital [*e*].

When this queen was at Nonſuch in Surry, her purveyor of coals uſed to make out a warrant to the high conſtables of ſome Rape in Suſſex, to warn carts for the carriage of coals to Nonſuch, appointing a meeting with them to receive the returns on the warrants. Sometimes the carts went to the places appointed, but found no coals to carry; but in general it was underſtood that the meeting was the principal purpoſe, and at that time the purveyor took a perſon with him to whom he aſſigned them over to compound for their carriages. This man would take twelve ſhillings for every load, and at laſt raiſed it to fourteen or fifteen ſhillings. The juſtices of Suſſex complained of this to the Green Cloth in 1598 [*f*].

Queen Elizabeth, by letters patent 14 November, anno 17, granted to Eye in Suffolk, that the corporation and inhabitants ſhould be for ever quit of purveyance of all vitayle, and of all quick cattle or other vittaile live or dead [*g*].

On the 16 June 1604, ſoon after the acceſſion of James the Firſt, the commons determined on a repreſentation to the king of the grievances ariſing from purveyors; and Sir Francis Bacon made a long ſpeech on the ſubject to the king in the withdrawing chamber at Whitehall. After a proeme, in which he ſoothes the royal ear with that flattery which was ſo acceptable

[*e*] Phillips.

[*f*] Records at the Green Cloth. [*g*] Ibid.

to that monarch, and interlarded with thoſe quaint Latin quotations in which that learned king ſo much delighted, he tells him that "there was no grievance in his kingdom ſo general, "ſo continual, ſo ſenſible, and ſo bitter to the common ſubject, "as that which he was then ſpeaking of; that they do not "pretend to derogate from his prerogative, nor to queſtion any "of his regalities or rights; they only ſeek a reformation of "abuſes, and a reſtoration of the laws to which they were "born. He complains that the purveyors take in kind what "they ought not to take; they take in quantity a far greater "proportion than cometh to the king's uſe, and they take in "an unlawful manner.

"They extort money in groſs, or in annual ſtipends, to be "freed from their oppreſſion. They take trees, which by the "law they cannot do; timber trees, which are the beauty, "countenance, and ſhelter of men's houſes; that are a loſs "which men cannot repair or recover. If a gentleman is too "hard for them whilſt at home, they will watch him out, and "cut the tree before he can ſtop it. When a poor man hath "his goods taken from him at an under value, and cometh to "receive his money, he ſhall have twelve pence in the pound "deducted; nay they take double poundage, once when the "debenture is made, and again when the money is paid.

"As to the ſecond point, he tells the king that there is no "pound of profit to him but begetteth three pound damages "on the ſubjects, beſides the diſcontent. And to avoid a diſ-"covery they never regiſter and atteſt what is taken as they are "required by law to do.

"As to the third, by law they ought to take as they can "agree with the ſubject; by abuſe they take at an enforced "price. By law they ought to make but one appriſement by "neighbours in the country; by abuſe they make a ſecond

" appriſement at the court-gate; and when the ſubjects' cattle
" come up many miles, lean and out of plight by reaſon of
" great travel, they priſe them anew at an abated price. By
" law they ought to take between ſun and ſun; by abuſe they
" take by twilight, and in the night. By law they ought not
" to take in the highways, by abuſe they take in the ways.
" This abuſe of purveyance if it be not the moſt heinous abuſe,
" yet it is the moſt common and general abuſe of all others in
" the kingdom [*h*]."

This repreſentation, together with a caſe which was ſolemnly reſolved by all the judges and barons of the Exchequer, that a purveyor could not lawfully cut timber from any perſon's eſtate, produced a proclamation [*i*] againſt this and other abuſes of purveyance; but it did not prevent their continuing ſuch practices, as ſeveral offenders were puniſhed in the Star Chamber for taking timber.

The right itſelf however of purveyance began now to be queſtioned; but in the caſe of Richards, 3 James, purveyance was allowed by the judges in the Star Chamber to be a royal prerogative [*k*], but they denied that timber could be cut, or fruit-trees tranſplanted, and in the twenty-eighth of that king, in the caſe of Vaux and Newman, the judges allowed the legality of taking cattle for the king's houſe, by his commiſſion on paying for them [*l*].

This Richards on being examined made a curious confeſſion of the rogueries practiſed by him and his brethren. He mentioned ſeveral kinds. They charged ten times the quantity wanted, ſold the overplus, and ſhared the money. They went

[*h*] Bacon's Works, vol. II. p. 150.
[*i*] Rapin, vol. II. p. 163.
[*k*] Moore's Reports, 764.
[*l*] Phillips, p. 79.

to

to the moſt remote places to make their purveyance, in order to induce the people to come to a compoſition. They conſpired with the high-conſtables to charge more than enough, and took half the money of them, but gave receipts for the whole, the conſtables taking the reſt. The clerk of the market ſet the prices below the value, and ſhared the gain. This confeſſion did not ſave him. He had alſo extorted money under pretence of having a grant for compounding fines on penal ſtatutes, and was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory in Weſtminſter, Cheapſide, and three market-towns in Dorſetſhire, and three in Somerſetſhire; to loſe one ear at Dorcheſter, the other at Wells; to ride on a horſe with his face to the tail, and papers pinned on him expreſſing his crime; to pay one hundred pounds fine, and to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure [*m*].

Charles I. in the beginning of his reign, claimed a right to dig any where for ſalt-petre, in order to provide gun-powder for his ſoldiers. The right was conteſted, and the opinion of the judges taken. It is well known how obſequious they were in thoſe days to the royal commands, but in this caſe they ſeem to have felt their ſhame in the reſolution they gave, which was to this effect; that the king could not preſcribe for the right, becauſe the art of making of gun-powder was brought into England within memory, viz. in the time of Richard the Second. yet as the ſame concerned the defence of the realm, the king might take ſufficient for that purpoſe in the nature of purveyance. They ſaid however that the right was inſeparable from his crown, and could not be granted or letten any more than other purveyance; that the king's miniſters for taking it could not undermine or weaken the walls or foundations of any houſe, or out-houſe, nor dig the floor of any manſion-houſe, or barn, uſed for keeping corn or hay, but they might dig the floors of

[*m*] Moore's Reports, 765.

ſtables, ox-houſes, and the like, leaving ſufficient room for the cattle, repairing them again within time convenient; they might dig in the floors of cellars or vaults, leaving room for the wine, beer, &c. they might dig any mud walls, not parcel of the manſion-houſe, order being taken that the manſion-houſe be as well defended as it was before; they might dig in ruins and decayed places not uſed for habitation of men; they were to make the place as commodious as it was before; to work only between ſun-riſe and ſun ſet; not to fire any furnace, or veſſels, in a houſe, without the owner's conſent; but the owner of the place could not be reſtrained from digging for his own uſe.

Theſe reſolutions were delivered in writing 24 June, 1625, to the lords and others of the privy council, and read before them, and were approved and allowed as conſonant to the right of the crown, and laws of the realm [*n*].

In 1627 the deputy Lieutenants of counties were directed not only to billet ſoldiers, but alſo to advance them a weekly allowance of three ſhillings and ſix pence each, and to furniſh ſuch as ſhould march through their county, eight pence a day. They were alſo to advance conduct money. Coat and conduct money had been required by queen Elizabeth [*o*].

In the petition of right 3 Charles I. it is enacted and declared that the people of the land are not by the laws to be burthened with ſoldiers againſt their wills.

On the Reſtoration, letters were written to the counties of Oxford, Berks, Wilts, and Hants, (and probably to all other counties), offering them their choice of ſuffering the king to take his pre-emption and purveyance, or to pay the compoſitions.

[*n*] Harl. MS. No. 1039. in Ayſcough's Cat.

[*o*] Letters in the Paper-Office from the Deputy Lieutenants of Surrey, complaining of the burthen, they having coated ſix hundred men.

Thoſe

Thoſe counties choſe the latter [*p*], but the whole was ſoon after put an end to by the act of 12 Charles II. 1661, cap. xxiv. which amongſt other grievances totally aboliſhed this heavy one.

It recites that by experience it hath been found that though divers good, ſtrict, and wholeſome laws have been made in the times of ſundry of his majeſty's progenitors (ſome extending ſo far as to life), for redreſs of the oppreſſions committed by perſons employed for making proviſions for the king's houſehold, carriages, and other purveyance for his majeſty and his occaſions; yet divers oppreſſions have been ſtill continued, and ſeveral counties have ſubmitted themſelves to ſundry rates, taxes, and compoſitions, to redeem themſelves from ſuch vexations and oppreſſions; and finding that ſuch remedies are not fully effectual, and that no other remedy will be ſo effectual and juſt as to take away the occaſion, eſpecially if ſatisfaction be made to his majeſty. It then enacts that all purveyance of proviſion, carriage, &c. ſhall ceaſe, that there ſhall be no pre-emption; but this not to extend to the ſtannaries of Devon and Cornwall, nor to prejudice the ancient duties of butlerage and prizage of wines.

In lieu of this, the court of wards, &c. the exciſe was granted and made perpetual.

It ſeems that the lords, though they paſſed this bill, gave the king ſome intimation of the ſacrifices he was making, for whilſt it was in agitation, he in a meſſage to both houſes mentioned that he was well informed of the value of his conceſſions, but adds, that he was ſo well ſatisfied of the commons' affections, that he would not inſiſt on any particular which they deſired he ſhould releaſe [*q*].

[*p*] Phillips, 340.
[*q*] Parl. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 19.

But

But as the want of carriages would be very inconvenient to the king in his progreſſes and removals, the next year an act was paſſed [*r*], impowering the clerk or chief officer of his majeſty's carriages, by warrant from the Green Cloth to provide carts, &c. for his majeſty's uſe, and perſons refuſing to ſerve were made liable to a penalty. No horſes or carriages were to travel above a day's journey, nor without pay of ready money; the rates of horſe-meat, and diet for his majeſty's ſervants, rates and prices, to be ſet down by two juſtices on notice given by the Green Cloth.

Charles the Second intended to have made a progreſs into the country in the ſummer of 1661, beginning with a viſit to Worceſter [*s*], but Phillips ſays that the want of the ancient purveyance prevented him [*t*].

This author in the height of his zeal exaggerates the advantage derived to the crown from purveyance, to the incredible ſum of 140,000 *l.* a year, though he ſays the people were not thereby charged above 65,000 *l.* [*u*]. In another place he ſays, the king expended in his houſehold and ſtable proviſions 73,607 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.* a year more than he did when he had his purveyances [*x*], and ſays the counties alledged that they loſt by compoſitions above 40,000 *l.* per ann. [*y*]. This was nearly the truth.

As to the 140,000 *l.* it ſeems beyond all credibility; but if the advantage to the crown was no more than 40,000 *l.* it will appear that the expence of the royal houſehold under the frugal management of Elizabeth was little ſhort of what it is now, or,

[*r*] 13 Cha. II. cap. 8.
[*s*] Parl. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 38.
[*t*] Phillips, p. 292.
[*u*] Ibid. p. 304.
[*x*] Ibid. p. 134.
[*y*] Ibid. p. 224.

if

if the different value of money is taken into conſideration, it may be ſaid to have far exceeded. In the beginning of her reign her houſehold expences were ſomething under 40,000 *l.* per ann. towards the end of it, they got up to 55,000 *l.* James I. ſet out at the rate of 77,000 *l.* beſides the prince's houſehold, which was computed at 16,000 *l.* and in which no commiſſion or compoſition was uſed; in his 4th year he got it up to 97,000 *l.* [z]. In fact the benefit accruing from purveyance and compoſition in the time of James was computed at 39,000 *l.* which added to Elizabeth's expence will make a ſum fully equal to the coſt of his preſent majeſty's houſehold in the beginning of his reign, and added to that of James, will make the latter far exceed the higheſt expence of the late, or preſent, king.

Another act was paſſed in 13 Charles II. providing for the impreſs ſervice for the navy and ordnance, but this was to continue only to the end of the firſt ſeſſion of the next parliament. It was revived in 1 James II. for ſeven years, was continued by other acts of William and Mary, and has been ever ſince provided for in the yearly mutiny acts. By an act of 31 Charles II. no ſoldier was to be quartered on any ſubject of any degree, quality, or profeſſion whatever; but by the ſubſequent mutiny acts, publicans are obliged to provide hay and ſtraw for horſes belonging to the army, and diet and ſmall beer for the officers at two ſhillings and one ſhilling a day, according to their rank, and for the men at four pence a day, or inſtead of victuals, are to allow gratis, candles, vinegar, ſalt, five pints of ſmall beer or cyder, and fire to dreſs the proviſions. The allowance for a horſeman is ſix pence a day, and ſix pence for his horſe. For carrying their baggage, the juſtices on producing an order from his majeſty, the general of his forces, or the maſter or lieutenant general of the ordnance, are to iſſue warrants to the con-

[z] Records at the Green Cloth.

ſtables to impreſs waggons and carts to go one day's journey; for a waggon and five horſes with a driver, the owner is to be paid one ſhilling a mile, for a cart and four horſes nine pence, and any extra expence is to be made good out of the county rates.

Thus have we taken ſome view of the riſe, progreſs, and extinction of an office which ſubſiſted for ages, without producing to the crown a return at all adequate to the burthens it impoſed on the ſubject. We ſee archbiſhop Iſlip's words fulfilled; the abolition of purveyance has not occaſioned any want of proviſions in the king's houſe, and inſtead of his people flying from his approach, they fly to meet and welcome him whenever he viſits the country.

P. S. There is an officer belonging to the New Foreſt, in Hants, called a purveyor, whoſe buſineſs it is to look out ſuch timber there as is fit for the royal navy; and to ſet out ſuch timber as is allowed for repairs to thoſe who have a claim to ſuch allowance by the tenure of their eſtates.

Form

Form of the king's warrant to the Lord Chancellor for making out commiſſions of purveyance, and form of the commiſſions; referred to p. 333.

"James by the grace of God, &c. to our right truſty and well beloved Thomas lord Elleſmere, and chancellor of England, greeting. We will and command you, that upon the ſight hereof, and by virtue and authority of the ſame, you direct forth under our great ſeal of England, according to the form and effect hereafter enſueing all ſuch commiſſions for all manner of proviſions of our houſehold, and for all manner of carriages thereunto belonging as our clerk of our crown ſhall from time to time receive order and direction for, by warrant to be ſigned by our cofferer and one of our clerk comptrollers for the time being. And theſe our letters ſhall be ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in this behalf. Given under our hand at our manor of Greenwich this 13th day of June, in the 4th year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the nine and thirtieth."

"James by the grace of God, &c. To all and ſingular our juſtices of peace, mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs, conſtables, hedboroughs, and all other officers, miniſters, and ſubjects, to whom theſe preſents ſhall come greeting. We let you witt that we have authoriſed and appointed, and by theſe preſents do give full power and authority unto our well beloved ſervant J. F. yeoman, purveior within the office of our A. and to his ſufficient deputy bearer hereof in his name according to our right, and the laws and ſtatutes of this realm in that behalf made and provided, to take up and provide for us, and in our name for the onely proviſion of our houſehold in all places as well within liberties as without, viz. for our reaſonable prices and payments

to be made in that behalf according to our right, and the ſaid laws and ſtatutes in that behalf. And further we do give full power and authority by theſe preſents unto our ſaid ſervant, and his ſaid deputy bearer hereof, to direct his precept to every high conſtable, petty conſtable, or hedborough, of every particular town, pariſh, or hamlet, where he ſhall think it moſt convenient to make proviſion as is aforeſaid of any of the premiſes. Wherefore we will and command you and every of you by theſe preſents to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to our ſaid ſervant, and his ſaid deputy bearer hereof in the due execution of this our commiſſion, as ye and every of you tender our pleaſure, and will anſwer to the contrary at your uttermoſt perils. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our letters of commiſſion to be ſealed with our great ſeal, and to continue until the end of ſix months next enſuing. Witneſs ourſelves at Weſtminſter."

XXXII.

XXXII. *An Account of the Remains of two* Roman *Villae diſcovered near* Mansfield Woadhouſe, in May *and* October, 1786. *By* Hayman Rooke, *Eſq. F. S. A. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr.* Norris, *Sec.*

Read January 18, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

I am happy in having the honor to communicate to the Society an account, illuſtrated with drawings, of ſome very curious remains of Roman antiquities in this neighbourhood. Theſe, with ſome ſpecimens of painted ſtucco, and cubes of teſſellated pavements, are incloſed in a box, which goes from Mansfield to-morrow by the Leeds Fly, directed for you at Somerſet Place.

Had this diſcourſe fallen to the lot of a more able antiquary, the memoir would have had a better claim to the notice of the Society; as it is, I can only ſay, I hope it will be found to be accurate. I am

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

H. ROOKE.

THIS part of Nottinghamſhire not being in the vicinity of any Roman ſtation, or road, there was little to induce the antiquary to ſearch after Roman antiquities; nor ſhould I have ventured on ſo precarious an undertaking, had I not ſeen ſome ſmall ſtone cubes about an inch ſquare, which the country people called *fairy pavements*, ſaid to be found in the north fields, about a mile from Mansfield Woadhouſe; where many ſtones and bricks had, at different times, been taken up, to prepare the fields for cultivation, and repair the fences. Several of the bricks I diſcovered to be Roman. This was ſufficient inducement for a thorough inveſtigation; and in May laſt (1786) I ſet three men to clear away and ſearch for walls, which they came to about a foot from the ſurface, and by following them ſoon diſcovered ſeven rooms, [ſee the plan of villa (A) in Pl. XXII. fig. 1], which I think I may venture to ſay will appear to be an elegant *villa urbana*. (*a*). In removing the earth, which was near a foot deep to the floor, it was perceptible the walls of moſt of the rooms had been ſtuccoed and painted, many fragments being found in different places on the floors, which muſt have fallen from the upper parts of the walls: the remaining lower part had the painted ſtucco perfect in many places. The compoſition was near two inches thick, made chiefly of lime and ſand; on this was laid a very thin body of ſtucco, painted in ſtripes of purple, red, yellow, green, and various colours. In the centre room, marked (a) in the plan (A) (20 feet 5 inches by 19.) is part of a very elegant Moſaic pavement. See the plan, No. 2) (*b*). The other part was probably torn up about ten

[*a*] A villa, according to Columella, (I. 6.) conſiſted of three parts, viz. *urbana*, *ruſtica*, and *fructuaria*; the firſt of which was that part of the houſe ſet apart for the maſter's uſe; the ſecond was for the cattle and ſervants that tilled the land, and were employed in the more ordinary ſervices of the houſe; the laſt conſiſted only of repoſitories for corn, wine, oil, &c.

[*b*] Pl. XXIII.

years

years ago in rooting up ſome trees and bruſh wood which covered this ſpot, at which time ſeveral ſmall cubes were found [*c*]. As there is no appearance of a fire place, or marks of fire, this is likely to have been the ſummer apartment. There being a greater ſpace between the Moſaic pavement and the wall on the weſt ſide than on the eaſt, it is not improbable but it was intended for the three beds or couches, and that this was the triclinium, or dining room.

The walls of the rooms, marked (b) in the plan, were painted, but had not teſſellated pavements; the floors were ſtucco, which appeared to be made of lime, brick pounded, and clay. Aſhes, and other appearances of there having been fires, were viſible towards the centre of theſe rooms. The entrance of this villa ſeems to have been on the eaſt front, into a narrow porticus, or rather cryptoporticus [*d*], about fifty-four feet in length, and eight wide, marked (c), with painted walls and a teſſellated pavement; the cubes, near an inch ſquare, of light ſtone colour, formed a border of two feet round the room, within which were ſquares of about a foot, of the ſame ſized cubes, but of a greyiſh colour. On the right hand half of this floor as you enter the ſquares appears rather larger, but not eaſily diſtinguiſhable. A lime-kiln placed at (d), not many years ago, has deſtroyed great part of this pavement. At one end of the cryptoporticus is a ſmall room, ſixteen feet eight inches by twelve. At the other is a hypocauſt, marked (e) in the plan; the flues one foot wide, and fourteen inches deep; at the end of the flue marked (+) was a kind of tile, about fifteen inches high, and twelve broad, ſee figure (1) in Pl. XXII. fig. 3. This

[*c*] See the ſize of the cubes which formed the Moſaic pavement in Pl. XXII. fig. 2.

[*d*] This room, as its name ſignifies, was an encloſed or private porticus, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from the porticus whoſe roof was ſupported by pillars. Caſtell's Villas of the Antients, p. 4. note (b).

ſeems intended to lift up occaſionally, to let in the heat conveyed through an arch under the wall from the other ſide, where the fire was made, and a quantity of aſhes found; no remains of a wall appeared round it. Joining the hypocauſt is a ſmall room, eleven feet by nine, which might have been a cold bath, but no pipe nor any paſſage for conveying the water out, could be ſeen. From this there is a door-way into a large room, twenty-four feet ſquare, marked (f) in the plan. The floor, which was ſtucco, had the marks of fire in two or three places; in this room was found the top of a lamp, made of a very ſandy kind of light-coloured pottery, and a ſmall piece of a cullender, ſee fig. 3 and 4, Pl. XXIV. from whence we may ſuppoſe this to have been the kitchen. It is remarkable that only two door-ways appear from theſe rooms, therefore there muſt have been ſteps from one room to the other, the floors being one foot below the preſent height of the walls, as before mentioned.

The end walls of the hypocauſt, marked (g) in the plan, and of the room at the other end of the cryptoporticus, are five feet thick. In ſome places it appears as if an additional wall had been built againſt the other, which I am apt to think has been the caſe; but for what purpoſe no one can pretend to ſay. The reſt of the outer walls are about two feet ſix inches; the party walls one foot ſix. The conſtruction of the walls is repreſented in Pl. XXI. fig. 4. which was taken from the inſide in the room marked (h) in the plan. Figure 2 is the ſection of the wall of the room marked (f) in the plan, which is built different from the reſt. I muſt not omit a ſmall building marked (i), about fourteen feet from the north-weſt end of this villa, the walls irregular, one ſide being twelve feet, the others eight and ten; in one end is a hollow, four feet deep, and ſeven in length; the floor adjoining was paved with flat ſtones, nothing found

Antiquities found at Mansfield Woodhouse.

found under them, from whence it may be ſuppoſed to have been a neceſſary convenience.

The Romans paid great attention to the ſituation of their villae, which does not appear to have been neglected in the ſite of this; the front ſtands a little to the ſouthward of the eaſt, commanding an extenſive and pleaſing view. To the north, at about four hundred yards diſtance, on the other ſide of a brook which parts Nottinghamſhire and Derbyſhire, is Plenſly Park, a large wood on a hill; to the weſt and ſouth-weſt the ground gradually riſes ſufficient, in ſome meaſure, to ſhelter the villa from ſtorms from thoſe quarters.

I am now to conſider what I think may be called the *villa ruſtica*, marked B in the plan, Pl. XXI. which might have been part, but certainly belonged to the *villa urbana*, though no junction at this time appears, the diſtance being only ten yards from the north-eaſt end, in the poſition of this building [*e*]. No regard has been paid to uniformity, as it viſibly ſtands in a diagonal line from the other, which is parallel to the hedge repreſented in the plan by a dotted line; the wall of the weſt front is forty-ſix feet in length, and interſected by the hedge. From this wall two ſide-walls extend one hundred and forty-two feet; the incloſed ſpace is divided into rooms at the eaſt and weſt ends, with a court in the centre, marked (k). The three rooms in the weſt front marked (l) have no painted walls, nor are there any teſſellated pavements; the floors are all ſtuccoed. Theſe rooms are divided from the reſt by a very thick or double wall, ſimilar to thoſe above-mentioned; the room marked (m), which was the largeſt in this villa, being eighteen feet by ſeventeen, had painted walls, with a very ſmooth ſtucco floor; the next room marked (n) in the ſouth ſide (ſeventeen feet by eleven),

[*e*] I diſcovered this villa in October laſt.

had

had likewiſe painted walls; the reſt in this front had none, though the walls ſeem to have been drawn. In the eaſt end are two rooms (marked o and p), two hypocauſts (q and r), with their fire-places (s), a bath, and cellars (t). The centre room (marked o) had very elegant painted walls, the colours remarkably bright [*f*]. In clearing out the hypocauſt marked (q), I came to a floor made of large flat ſtones: on removing which, the flues appeared filled with earth; a proof that this part was inhabited, after the Romans left it, by perſons of inferior rank, who could not indulge themſelves in all the luxuries of that people. The flues of this hypocauſt are very perfect; one foot ſix inches deep, and one foot two inches wide at the entrance, but grow narrower towards the walls. At the end of every flue, within three or four inches of the top, and fixed in the wall, was a hollow kind of caſe, made of coarſe baked earth, (ſee N° 2 in fig. 3.); theſe were evidently intended as chimnies to carry off the ſmoke. Several fragments of the ſame kind were found in the hypocauſt of the other villa; but I could never diſcover their uſe till I opened this, nor could I get any that were quite perfect.

That hypocauſts were uſed by the Romans for warming rooms, as well as their baths and ſudatories, appears by Pliny's letter to Apollinaris, where he ſays, "this cubiculum is exceeding warm in winter, as it has a great deal of ſun; joined "to it is a hypocauſtum, ſo that when the weather is cloudy, "by admitting its heat you may ſupply the want of the ſun [*g*]." Hence there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that this hypocauſt, and that in the villa urbana, were intended ſolely for the above pur-

[*f*] The antients uſed to lay their colours on wet plaſter, which does not fade, but continues perfect for ever. Vitruvius, lib. vii. cap. iii.

[*g*] Caſtell's Villas of the Antients, p. 24.

poſe,

poſe, particularly as the other in this villa marked (r) in the plan is larger, and almoſt exactly on the ſame plan as that mentioned by Mr. Hay in his account of a Roman hypocauſt diſcovered near Brecknock [*b*]. This therefore I have reaſon to ſuppoſe was deſigned to heat the ſudatorium, and bath built over it.

From what remains of the pillars that ſupported the upper floor they appear to have been made of layers of bricks; that for the baſe is one foot ſquare, and two inches thick; a leſſer one was laid over this of nine inches ſquare; theſe parts now remain in their proper poſitions. Next the wall, at the eaſt end, marked (w), are four pillars, made of ſtone; theſe formed flues of one part, which were probably intended to carry off the ſmoke. The preſent height of the wall, two feet ten inches; length of the hypocauſt to the long flue marked (x), which appears to have been arched, and through which the heat was conveyed, twenty-two feet five inches; length of the flue eight feet three inches; width one foot eight inches. This opened into a room of eleven feet by eight, in which there was a ſpace of five feet, where the fire was made; the ſides ſloped, and were covered with flat ſtones. In this hollow, marked (s), was found a great quantity of aſhes. Joining to this hypocauſt, and ſurrounded by a very thick wall, is a little cold bath, marked (u) in the plan, five feet ſix inches, by three feet two, width of the ſtep ten inches, preſent depth one foot ten inches; the ſides and bottom were ſtuccoed; a leaden pipe (ſee N° 5. in fig. 3.) one foot ſeven inches long, and two inches diameter in the baſe, was fixed in the wall within about three inches of the bottom. This carried off the water into a narrow kind of trough in the wall, marked (y), ſeven feet in

[*b*] Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 205.

length, two feet wide, and about two deep; from whence it ran off through fiſſures in the rock, which appeared at the bottom. In clearing out the above hypocauſt, ſeveral large pieces of cement, made of lime and pounded brick, harder than ſtone, were found near the bottom; one part ſeemed to be hollowed out, and made ſmooth. Whether theſe were part of the floor of the room above, or for what purpoſe they were deſigned, it is now impoſſible to ſay. Other pieces of the ſame compoſition, only nearer to the reſemblance of pillars, were found in the hypocauſt of the other villa; ſome were eight inches high, and nine diameter, ſome larger. Joining to the other hypocauſt in this villa ruſtica, marked (q), is a little room, nine feet by eight, in which was a ſmall irregular place for the fize, from whence the heat was conveyed through an arch in the wall to the flues; here aſhes and ſeveral pieces of coal were found. The two rooms, marked (t), next to this, from their ſize, I ſhould ſuppoſe might have been cellars, being only eight feet by four. In theſe were found fifteen ſmall pieces of copper Roman coins, three of Conſtantine very perfect (ſee N° 12, Pl. XXIV): the heads of the others hardly perceptible, except one of Claudius Gothicus, and one of Salonina. A radiated crown appeared on ſeveral. Ten more of the ſame kind were taken up in different parts of this building.

In the inſide wall (next the court) of the little rooms above mentioned, were fixed two oblong baſes of pillars, marked (z) in the plan, two feet eight inches, by one foot ſeven; height ten inches. On the tops were grooves, one meaſured one foot ſeven, by ten inches and a half; the other at the end of the wall, one foot ſix inches, by nine inches and a half within the grooves. Theſe being in very ſingular poſitions, make it difficult to aſſign their uſe; had they been intended for pillars, it is natural to ſuppoſe the tops, where the ſhafts were to be placed, would have been of equal dimenſions; it is therefore, I think, not improbable

but

but that they might be deſigned for altars [*i*]. From the ſide of the hypocauſt, marked (q), and the adjoining room, two walks project about ſix feet; theſe do not appear to be ſides of a room. Having thoroughly examined the ground at the ends, where no walls can be found, it might poſſibly have been an open porch.

I found ſome difficulty in tracing out the walls of this villa, from their being in many places taken up from the foundation, owing probably to the walls laying near the ſurface; theſe parts are diſtinguiſhed in the plan by dotted lines.

The out-houſes, ſtables, and other appendages to this farm, muſt have been deſtroyed long ago, owing to the rock being ſo near the ſoil, which in many places in this and the adjoining field is not above ſix or ſeven inches deep. Theſe walls would, of courſe, be taken away when the ground was firſt ploughed. In examining theſe fields, large ſtones were found in many places, but as yet no more walls have been diſcovered. At the north end of theſe grounds is a ſteep bank, full of trees and underwood, which ſlopes down to the brook called Pleaſley Water. Here a great many ſtones, which evidently appear to have been in buildings, have been tumbled down. In clearing out theſe villae, many ſlates were found with holes in them; in one was a nail, which ſhews their method of fixing them on the roof in the form of N° 6. fig. 3.

At about one hundred yards ſouth-eaſt of the villa urbana I diſcovered two ſepulchres. See (a) and (b), Pl. XXVI. Nothing remains of (a) but the foundation; the walls, being near the ſurface, were probably deſtroyed by the plough. The other was more perfect. The remains of the ſide walls were about one foot under ground. In clearing two feet of earth, I came to a ſtucco floor, which covered the ſtones marked (1) in the

[*i*] See a perſpective view of the poſition of the baſes in Pl. XXV.

plan (b). Theſe were laid over a ciſt or little vault, ſeven feet long, two wide, and one foot ſix inches deep: ſee the perſpective view (c). This was full of a very light kind of earth; in the bottom ſtood an urn containing aſhes, which had been cracked by the weight of earth, and fell to pieces on being removed: ſee fig. 3. Pl. XXVI. Two ſmall bones of the arm, two rib bones, and four or five joints of the back bone, lay ſcattered in the bottom; the floor was made of three dreſſed ſtones, on the ſides of which the walls were built.

Finding unburnt bones with an urn, is a ſingular circumſtance, and not to be accounted for, unleſs we may ſuppoſe theſe bones had eſcaped the fire, and were afterwards depoſited with the urn: but this I muſt leave to the better judgment of the Society.

The roof of this ſepulchre muſt have been covered with flat red tiles, of which a great many were found in clearing the walls; they were one inch thick, fifteen long, and eleven wide; the two ſides were raiſed one inch and a half; ſee fig. 4. Pl. XXVI. Among theſe were ſeveral ridge tiles; one now in my poſſeſſion, quite perfect, is fifteen inches long, and ſix inches diameter at the wideſt end, (ſee fig. 5. Pl. XXVI). Theſe tiles ſeem to be of the ſame kind as thoſe mentioned by Dr. Burton in his account of a Roman ſepulchre, found near York in 1768 (*k*), where they covered the roof. Between the two ſepulchres is a pavement, ſeven feet ſquare, marked (d). In the centre was a kind of pedeſtal, marked (c), part of it broken; on this probably was placed a ſtone with a ſepulchral inſcription, fragments of which were found in clearing away the earth from the pavement, but, not having been able to recover them all, the inſcription, I am afraid, cannot be made out: ſee fig. 6. Pl. XXVI.

[*k*] Archæologia, vol. II. p. 177.

The poſition of theſe ſepulchres ſeem to have been much attended to, both being different from the ſquare pavement above mentioned, that marked (b) being exactly eaſt and weſt, the other nearly ſo.

Many fragments of paterae and pots of different kind of Roman ware, were picked up in clearing out the rooms, ſome of a dark colour, thin, hard, and elegantly ornamented with indented work; a ſmall patera of the beſt kind of red ware had ALBVS, the maker's name, in Roman capitals, at the bottom; a brick had the impreſſion of a calf's foot; another had the fore and hind foot of a dog; a tile that of a ſheep; ſeveral pieces of a large ſtag's horns were found, ſome had been ſawed off, one piece in particular had been ſawed and ſmoothed on each ſide, and ſtamped with a circular mark. See Pl. XXIV. fig. 11. Many bones of animals, boars' tuſks, and ſome remarkable large teeth, ſuppoſed to have been horſe's, were found in both villae.

Antiquities found in the villae repreſented in Pl. XXIV.

Fig. 1. An ivory pin, the ſize of the drawing. This exactly reſembles one found in the Roman camp on Caſtle Hill in Lydney Park [*l*].

Fig. 2. Top of a lamp, the ſize of the drawing.

Fig. 3. A pair of nippers. Ditto.

Fig. 4. A piece of a cullender. Ditto.

Fig. 5. An iron chiſel, nine inches long, much corroded; on the top, marked (a), is a ſmall bit of glaſs, ſo firmly fixed in the ruſt as not to be ſeparated.

Fig. 6 and 7. Fragments of hand mills; that marked (b) muſt have been thirteen inches diameter when perfect, and two inches and a half thick.

[*l*] Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. I. p. 134.

Fig.

Fig. 8. and 9. Two pieces of braſs, the ſize of the drawing; probably parts of a fibula; that marked (8) appears to have been highly poliſhed.

Fig. 10. Part of a circular ornament, ſize of the drawing, with a heart in the centre; it has the appearance of green enamel, with a narrow border of a yellow metal, but now much defaced.

Fig. 11. Piece of a ſtag's horn; the ends have been ſawed off, ſmoothed on each ſide, and ſtamped with a circular mark, ſize of the drawing.

Fig. 12. Roman coins.

There are many places in England unqueſtionably Roman, which yet do not lie in a Roman road. This is a fact we are aſſured of, by comparing the geographer of Ravenna with the itinerary of Antoninus. Theſe places, not lying on the military routs, cannot now be inveſtigated with any tolerable certainty; yet, when we find roads and lanes that have Roman names, we may venture to aſſure ourſelves of their having been made or uſed by that people. The narrow ſtreet coming out of Mansfield, and which goes directly to Woadhouſe, one mile, is called Leming Lane; this is clearly a very ancient name. Thus in Yorkſhire, ſays Dr. Stukeley, another Roman road is called Leming Lane, from its ſtony compoſure. *Lhe* ſignifies a way, *Mean* in Britiſh a ſtone [*m*]. This road is likewiſe on a rock which appears in many places on the ſurface. From Woadhouſe, a road formerly went in a direct line to the field in which the villa ruſtica ſtands. Some old men in the village remember having ſeen ſome remains of it, but now there are no traces of it left.

I muſt beg leave to obſerve further, that as the Romans continued in Britain till after the year 423, and for a great

[*m*] Itinerarium Curioſum, Vol. I. Iter 5. p. 132.

part of the time were maſters of the country, and lived in a very flouriſhing ſtate, it is obvious to conceive, that the moſt opulent rank amongſt them, perſons diſtinguiſhed, and perhaps dignified with poſts and titles, would be trying to follow and import the manners of Italy, and ſtriving to imitate the examples, as far as the difference of climate would admit, of the rich citizens of Rome. The great men of that capital, we know, had moſt of them villae in the vicinity, or at no great diſtance from the city [*n*], to which they occaſionally reſorted. No one, I believe, who has the leaſt ſkill and judgment in theſe matters, will ever read the deſcription of the above diſcoveries at Mansfield Woadhouſe, but will inſtantly agree with me in pronouncing them Roman. The hypocauſts, bath, teſſellated pavements, tiles, painted ſtucco, coins, &c. all conſpire to aſſign them ſo unequivocally to that people, that no other ancient nation whatever can pretend to lay any claim to it. This country was altogether a foreſt in the time of the Romans, and made part of the great Caledonian wood, as Mr. Pegge has ſhewn [*o*]; but nevertheleſs the Romans had unqueſtionably frequented theſe parts, and even inhabited them; for about A. D. 1774, an urn filled with denarii was actually found on a hill the other ſide of the brook, not more than half a mile diſtant from theſe coins. Two very perfect ones I have ſeen, Antoninus and Fauſtina.

As there certainly never was any Roman road through this part of Nottinghamſhire, theſe ruins could not be connected with any ſtation. It muſt neceſſarily have been a villa of ſome perſon of great note and conſideration, and I refer to the ſeveral deſcriptions of the Roman villae above cited, as a clear and

[*n*] Caſtell's Villas of the Antients.

[*o*] See his Letter to Matthew Duane on the ſeat of the Coritani, added to his Eſſay on the Coins of Cunobalin.

cer-

certain proof that theſe ſplendid remains muſt have been a villa, and nothing elſe. We are ſure there never was any thing like a town here as at Herculaneum or Pompeii. It may be objected, perhaps, that no well or ſpring appears at the place; but in anſwer to this I alledge there might have been a well here, though now ſo long filled up, that not the leaſt traces of it can be found; beſides, it does not neceſſarily follow, that they could not ſubſiſt without a well, ſince the brook called Pleaſley Water runs in a little valley at the bottom of the field, about three hundred yards from the villa, and was ſufficient for every purpoſe, for all domeſtic uſes, and the ſupply of the bath.

The antiquary has to lament the frequent devaſtation made among the curious remains of antiquity (if I may be allowed to ſay) from a too eager deſire for cultivation; but I have the ſatisfaction at this time to acquaint the Society, that the above-mentioned villa urbana is upon the eſtate of John Knight, Eſq. of Langold, who has obligingly expreſſed his intentions of erecting a building over the teſſellated pavements for the inſpection of the curious; the villa ruſtica, and ſepulchres, are on the eſtate of my worthy neighbour Mr. Mompeſſon, who is equally deſirous of preſerving theſe curious remains of Roman antiquity. It may be neceſſary to mention that the rooms with teſſellated pavements are now filled up with earth, the only means of preſerving them till the buildings can be erected.

XXXIII. *Account of ſome* Roman *Pottery, found at* Sandy, *in* Bedfordſhire, *and at* Lincoln, *together with a* Roman *Speculum. By Governor* Pownall. *In a Letter addreſſed to the Rev. Dr.* Lort, V. P.

Read January 25, 1787.

SIR,

THIS letter brings to your hands and accompanies ſome curious ſpecimens of Roman antiquities found at Sandy in Bedfordſhire, and at Lincoln; ſuch as, I believe, are quite novel and nondeſcript as to England.

Sandy is a village at the foot of a high point of high land called Everton, and Everdon in the old maps, and is in Saxon Haber, or *Haver-dun*, a common appellation taken from the nature of the ſoil, as ſignifying what culture it was beſt originally ſuited to, and means *Oat-downs*, in the ſame manner as other tracts of the like ſoil are called Haver-land and Oat-lands. This village lying between this high land and the marſhy vale through which flow ſeveral branches of our river, muſt have been formerly a paſs; and was a Roman ſtation or camp, poſted on an elevated piece of ſquare ground called to this day *Cheſter Field*. This was known by the Roman name *Salinæ*. This name *Salinæ* was applied equally to the ſalt-works, and to the public ware-houſes whence ſalt was delivered out by the officers of government, charged with a duty, *Vectigal*, of which there were many at Rome, in Italy, and in the provinces. I

take this *Salinæ*, or *Salndy*, as Mr. Camden calls it, to have been one of thoſe ſalt-offices. It is placed at the head of a navigable ſtream next the interior of the country. On the banks of the mouth of the river upon lands part of my eſtate at *Old Lynn* are ſtill remaining the ruins of ſeveral old ſalt-pans. There are, upon the point of the high land above the village, ſeveral fortified camps and poſts. I ſhall not in this letter enter into any deſcription of theſe, nor even ſtate my doubts whether they be Roman or not; they require more accurate examination than I have been as yet able to give them. When I have leiſure, I will meaſure and examine them; and, if I can form any decided opinion, I will ſend to you an account for the information of the Society.

At preſent I ſend you, that you may exhibit to the Society, ſome curious ſpecimens of ancient pottery found at Sandy, and alſo ſome of the ſame ſort found laſt year at Lincoln, and given to me by my brother.

The pieces lot A. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, I have been able ſo to put together as to obtain the exact form of the veſſel of which they are fragments; and have made a drawing of them ſo put together, compleating, by a pricked line, the ſhape of the veſſel as in ts perfect ſtate, a copy of which, made by a young lady, I alſo encloſe [*a*].

This kind of pottery, the Society will obſerve, is made of very fine, cloſe, pure clay, cleared of all heterogeneous ſand, gravel, or grit, and wrought to a perfect uniform paſte, and baked alſo with ſuch experienced art, as to be of an equal hardneſs and colour throughout.

The lot B. 1, 2, 3, are fragments of another veſſel, of the ſame ſort and form, though larger, but with exactly the ſame moulding, deſign, and ornaments.

[*a*] See Pl. XXVII.

Lot-

Fragment of a Roman vessel found at Salindy 1787.

Lot C. 1, 2, are ſimilar fragments of another like veſſel: all theſe were found in the Cheſter Field at Sandy ſome years ago.

The Lot D. 1, 2, 3, were found laſt ſummer in the Caſtle yard at Lincoln. The compoſition of this lot is exactly of the ſame quality as the others above: the mouldings and ornaments, eſpecially of N° 1, 2, are however of a better deſign and executed in a more maſterly manner.

I muſt now inform the Society, that pottery of this very fabrique, with exactly ſimilar mouldings and ornaments, is at this day found in Provence and Languedoc, particularly at Aix and Niſmes; at Vienne in Dauphine; and in many parts of France; as alſo in many parts of Switzerland. Count Caylus has given an account, with drawings, of ſome of thoſe in his *Recueil des Antiquités*; alſo Monſ. Menard, in his ſeventh volume, quarto, of his Hiſtory of Nîmes; alſo Mr. Schmidt, a member of our Society, of like pottery found at Avanche, Culm, and Zurich, in Switzerland. I have had an opportunity of examining thoſe pieces of pottery at moſt of theſe places; and can venture to repeat, that (one or two pieces excepted) they are exactly ſimilar, in every particular above noticed, to theſe I now ſend you.

Sir Andrew Fountaine had an intire veſſel of this ſame red pottery. You may ſee a drawing of it in the ſecond volume of the Hiſtoriæ Romanæ Scriptores, folio. To confirm what I have ſaid of the compoſition of the fabrique, I will quote Monſ. Menard's words. Speaking firſt of the home-made pottery of Nîmes (he ſays) "tantôt elle eſt blanchâtre, tantôt noire, tantôt rouge meleé avec marqueſites, & tout celle de ces trois coleures eſt *mal-cuite*." But, as to the other he ſays, "c'eſt bien-cuite & travaillée tres delicatement. La cuite donne à celleci un coleur rouge clair & peu fonce. Cette terre au ſurplus etoit une argile tres fine, depouillé du ſable

par le lavage, elle ſe travailloit avec une extrême facilitéſur le tour ainſi ſur le roue."

The Society will obſerve in the numbers 1, 2, of lot A, and in the numbers 1, 2, 3, of lot B, that the mouldings are of a ſingular ſpecies of ovolo, more like the feſtoons of a valance than what our common workmen call the *egg and anchor*; that they are all of the ſame model exactly, as are all the reſt which are found in every other part of Europe. The deſigns of the ornaments are uniformly the ſame repreſentation of the chace of the lion, except one or two of thoſe found at Culm and Avanch, which repreſent the chace of the lioneſs. That of Sir Andrew Fountaine's is alſo varied in the figures, but the moulding is exactly the ſame as thoſe now exhibited.

The two numbers 1, 2, of lot D, found at Lincoln laſt ſummer, afford curious ſpecimens of mouldings and ornaments of a better deſign, and more delicately wrought than is uſually to be met with in this fabrique.

This fabrique was uſually called the Samian, mentioned by Pliny, xxxv. 46. In a former paper I referred to this as the ſort which the Romans imported into their provinces. It was in vogue throughout the Roman empire: it was originally made at Samos; but was afterwards made, of the ſame compoſition, and after the ſame patterns, at Rome. I find myſelf confirmed in this opinion by Monſ. Menard and others. The chace of the lion and lioneſs is not likely to have been thought of, or to have been ſo known as to be deſcribed by an European potter. Beſides there is as much difference betwixt the compoſition of this fabrique and the home-made pottery of ancient Europe, the grey, black, and brick-red pottery found every where, as between the porcelaine of China, and the common fayance of Europe. The fragments of theſe veſſels here exhibited were generally

nerally the furniture of the *eleiotheſion* of the baths, and were chiefly uſed as the *unguentaria.*

It is not more ſingular that a moulding of ſuch a model, ſo different from the faſhion of any members in ornamental architecture, ſhould be uſed; than that this with ſo little variation ſhould be ſo conſtantly adhered to, as is found to be the caſe in all the different pieces diſcovered in ſuch widely diſtant parts of Europe. I throw out my conjecture; but, exhibiting at the ſame time the ſpecimens themſelves, I ſubmit the matter to the better judgment of others.

There have been found alſo in this ſame Cheſter Field, for many years back, great number of coins. Sir Philip Monoux, to whom the eſtate belongs, has, though not a regular ſeries, yet a large number of theſe coins, from the Flavian family down to Conſtantine, with one of Carauſius; alſo one of Fauſtina the empreſs, wife of Antoninus Pius; one of Lucilla, the wife of L. Ælius Verus, and ſiſter of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; one alſo of Julia Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus. Mr. Pym, whoſe ſeat is in this pariſh of Sandy, has a coin of Fauſtina, found in this ſame place, one of the fineſt I have ſeen, and in great preſervation. It hath the uſual reverſe, which ſhe had engraved on her coins, a Venus holding in her hand the apple of Paris. I may, perhaps, take ſome time or other, an opportunity of exhibiting theſe coins to the Society, with ſome explanation of them. In the mean time I ſend you a drawing, ſo far as the outline goes, of the coin of Fauſtina, which I hope will be found an exact portrait of it.

There was dug up from this field, ſome years ago, a cinerary urn, of the dark-brown or black ſort. It contains bones and aſhes, and ſeveral articles of a lady's toilet. There was in it a hair-pin of that ſort, called the *haſta recurva.* This is now loſt. But there ſtill remains a curious mirrour, or ſpeculum, which my

my friend Sir Philip Monoux is ſo obliging as to permit me to ſend, together with the pottery, for the inſpection of the Society. I believe, you will find it to be of a mixt metal, copper, ſilver, and iron. If I was in town I would have it aſſayed, by cutting off a little piece at that corner which is already broken. I meaſured it two inches five lines, by two inches four lines. It is ſurpriſing that it hath preſerved its poliſh to ſo great a degree, after lying buried ſo many hundred years.

Theſe mirrours, or ſpecula, certainly made part of the *toilet* of the Roman ladies; and one meets with frequent mention of them. This is, however, the firſt exemplar which I have ſeen. Several members of the Society may have had opportunities of ſeeing others. In Smetii "Antiquitates Neornagenſes," p. 118, 119, mention is made of one being found in the year 1647 at Neomagus, which is thus deſcribed; "ſpeculum *chalybium*, cujus diameter pollices Romanos quinque æquet:" the accuracy of the deſcription I do, however, a little doubt.

It is not only from incidental paſſages in the ancient authors, but from the buſtos and coins, that we learn in fact that the Roman ladies were as curious and as finical *precieuſes* about their coëfure, and were as much devoted, and devoted as much time, to the grand buſineſs of the toilet, as any of our fineſt modern ladies of Europe; but exceeded them infinitely in their taſte, ſtudying to adorn and give a relieve to the beauties of nature, not to diſguiſe her forms, and to deſtroy her proportions. To make, however, amends for giving this preference in this inſtance, I will give from Martial's Epigrams [*b*] an inſtance of a Virago knocking down her *hair-dreſſer* with the mirrour, only becauſe one curl of the whole *friſure* was not well pinned; an example which our modern ladies are incapable of giving:

[*b*] II. 66.

Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum
  Annulus, inſerta non benè fixus acu.
Hoc facinus Lelage ſpeculo, quo viderat, ulta eſt;
  Et cecidit fectis icta plecuſa comis.
Deſine jam, Lelage, triſtes ornare capillos:
  Tangat & inſanum nulla Puella caput.
Hoc ſalamandra notet, vel ſæva novacula nudet;
  Ut digna ſpeculo fiat imago tua.

I will note one more inſtance as appoſite to this buſineſs of the mirrour and the toilet. It is the example of a *devotée* dedicating her mirrour to Venus, an example which I would venture to recommend to our modern old ladies, if there was any ſuch being now-a-daies exiſting.

Lais anus Veneri ſpeculum dico, dignum habet ſe
  Æterna æternum forma miniſterium;
At mihi nullus in hoc uſus; quia cernere talem
  Qualis ſum nolo; qualis eram nequeo.
Auſon. Epig. lib. liv. 1.

I am, with my reſpects to the Society,

Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Everton Houſe,
Jan. 1, 1787.

T. POWNALL.

XXXIV. *Deſcription of the* Druid *Temple lately diſcovered on the top of the Hill near* St. Hillary *in* Jerſey. *Communicated by Mr.* Molſeworth.

Read January 11, 1787.

IT is ſixty-ſix feet in circumference, compoſed of forty-five large ſtones, meaſuring ſeven feet in height, ſix in breadth, four in thickneſs, containing four perfect lodges [or cells] and one deſtroyed. The ſuppoſed entrance in it may be called a ſubterraneous paſſage, faces the Eaſt, and meaſures fifteen feet in length, four feet two inches and a half in breadth from the inſide of the two outward pillars or ſtones, in height two feet, each pillar being one foot nine inches and a half thick.

The inſide of the paſſage meaſures five feet three inches in breadth, four feet four inches in height, and the firſt covering ſtone three feet in thickneſs; it gradually decreaſes the length of the fifteen feet before-mentioned.

The vacancy on the North ſide, which appears to have been the real vacancy, meaſures in breadth ſix feet nine inches.

The greateſt lodge, facing nearly the Eaſt, or ſubterraneous paſſage, meaſures, both in depth and length, four feet three inches; the next on the left four feet in breadth, four feet three inches in length, and three feet ſeven inches in height. The diſtance from one to the other is two feet ſixteen inches; the third, at the diſtance of five feet nine inches from the ſecond, meaſures in breadth two feet ſixteen inches, in length two feet nineteen, in height four feet.

The

The ſubterraneous paſſage in the inſide of the temple, deſcribing a perfect lodge, diſtant from the third ten feet, and the fourth joining both Eaſt and North paſſages, in breadth meaſures two feet four inches, and two feet one-eighth in depth. The eaſtern cavity is ſtill filled up with the ſame rubbiſh that covered the temple.

Two medals were found in this temple, one of the emperor Claudius, and the other ſo worn by time as to render it unintelligible.

About fifty yards South from the temple are five places in the form of our graves, maſoned on every ſide, but not paved, and lying E. and W. A ſtone quite alone lies five feet from the ſubterraneous paſſage.

XXXV. *Deſcription of a* Druidical *Monument in the Iſland of* Jerſey; *in a Letter from the Right Honourable* Henry Seymour Conway, *Governor of* Jerſey, *to the Earl of* Leiceſter, *P. S. A.*

Read March 8, 1787.

My Lord,

I Have the honour to tranſmit herewith the model of a Druid Temple, diſcovered ſome time ago on the top of a pretty high rocky hill, near the town of St. Helier, in the Iſland of Jerſey. I am ſorry to have ſo long delayed executing the promiſe I made to ſend it your lordſhip; but it having been tranſmitted to me without a ſcale, I did not care to trouble you till that material defect was remedied. By the ſcale which I have now received, and which is of three feet to an inch, your lordſhip will ſee the dimenſions are not great, but I imagine it to be the moſt intire and perfect monument of this kind exiſting in this part of the world.

I ſhall not attempt to ſay any thing of the nature or uſe of theſe extraordinary ſtructures; your lordſhip and the gentlemen of your learned Society having full knowledge of all that can be ſaid on the ſubject.

By the very imperfect accounts we have of the hiſtory and antiquities of that iſland, there is reaſon to think it has been very particularly the ſeat of the Druids and their worſhip. Mr. Bindextre, who wrote ſome tracts on the affairs of Jerſey, and died

died in the year 1691, ſays, there were exiſting in that ſmall iſland no leſs than fifty of theſe Druid temples, or altars, in his time: of which the greater part were demoliſhed when Falle publiſhed his Hiſtory of Jerſey pretty early in the preſent century. He mentions a ſingle altar of large dimenſions then ſtanding on the ſame hill of St. Helier, the top ſtone of which was fourteen feet long, ſeven and an half broad, and three in thickneſs, and near it a circle of other ſtones, of which there remained but one when he wrote, *the reſt having been broken to make a wall hard by.*

From the above it is plain that the preſent complete ſtructure was not known at that time, though there was another large altar, or temple, and another circle of ſtones, ſeen on the ſame hill.

The preſent temple remained intirely covered with earth till the ſummer 1785; having the appearance of a large barrow or tumulus, in which form I had conſtantly ſeen it when in the iſland. It then happened that the colonel of the St. Helier's militia wanting to level the ground for the exerciſe of his corps, the workmen ſoon ſtruck on the ſtones, and the temple thus diſcovered was afterwards cleared as it now ſtands.

There is no trace of the time when it was covered up; not improbably in that of the Romans, by the Druids themſelves, to preſerve it as their moſt ſacred temple from the violence or profanation of that people, who frequently perſecuted them, and who certainly had poſſeſſion of the iſland, as appears from its Latin name of *Cæſarea*, and from ſeveral names, and ſome ſmall veſtiges remaining, as well as from the coins found pretty often in different parts of the iſland.

I do not know whether it may be thought of any conſequence to mention the particular poſition of the temple, or the bearings of the ſeveral cells, or altars, reſpectively; but, knowing it is

the opinion of ſome learned perſons that they are objects worthy of ſome conſideration, I had them taken, and herewith ſubjoin a ground-plan of the whole, ſet out to the points of the compaſs; as alſo three drawings of the temple, as it appeared ſoon after the diſcovery, together with a plan of it [*a*].

There have very lately been diſcovered, as my lieutenant-governor informs me, five graves on the ſame hill, and about 170 feet from the temple; one of them has, he ſays, ſomewhat of a curved form, but that they have no other peculiarity except that of their being lined with a kind of rubble ſtone.

The above are the chief particulars I have been able to learn on this ſubject, and I ſhall be happy if they give any ſatisfaction to your Lordſhip, or the Society. I am, my lord, with great eſteem, your lordſhip's moſt faithful and obedient ſervant,

H. S. CONWAY.

Little Warwick Street,
Feb. 20, 1787.

[*a*] See Plates XXVIII. XXIX.

XXXVI. *On the Origin of the* Jews *in* England. *By Mr.* John Caley, *F. A. S.*

Read March 15, 1787.

AT what period the nation of the Jews firſt obtained a ſettlement in England, is a queſtion involved in conſiderable obſcurity; ariſing as well from the diſtance of time when this event is ſuppoſed to have happened, as from the few memorials that have been (ſince their diſperſion) tranſmitted down to us concerning them.

It hath been conjectured, that they were here as early as the time when this iſland was ſubject to the Romans [*a*]; but if we attentively reflect on the uncultivated and barbarous ſtate of Britain and its inhabitants in that diſtant age, we can hardly be induced to believe, that a people accuſtomed to a more favorable climate and more ſoftened manners, would ſeek a country of the above deſcription, and undertake what muſt have been to many of them a *long*, and in the infancy of navigation a *dangerous* voyage.

Some weight indeed may be added to the conjecture that has been formed, if credit can be given to the ſyſtem of Jewiſh chronology called צמח דוד Tſemach David, publiſhed by Rabbi David Ganz; of which there is a Latin tranſlation by Vorſtius [*b*]; from whence we learn, that Julius Cæſar was a

[*a*] By Mr. Waller in the preface to Leland's Collectanea.
[*b*] Lugd. Bat. 4to. 1644.

great encourager of the Jews, and in ſtrict amity with them; ſo that if other circumſtances accorded, there might be ſome ground for a preſumption, that he firſt introduced them into Britain.

This ſuppoſition would however be liable to many objections, ſuch as (among others) the recent devaſtation which had been made in this iſland, and the continual inroads which were to be dreaded from the neighbouring nations; both which muſt operate as ſtrong reaſons againſt the probability of an aſylum being afforded the Jews, who have in almoſt all ages derived their ſole ſupport, from the *commerce* of the countries they inhabited.

Certain it is, that however great a friend this emperor might be to them, none of the ſubſequent ones ſeem to have imitated him in this particular; on the contrary, Conſtantine the Great, who is ſaid to have been born in Britain, and who firſt tolerated the Chriſtians, appears to have had an implacable enmity againſt the Jews [*c*].

As it is therefore, from the reaſons that have been aſſigned, by no means likely, that the Jews would have even wiſhed for a ſettlement in a country where there exiſted ſo ſmall a proſpect of encouragement; ſo neither is it probable, that a total ſilence reſpecting them would have prevailed among the hiſtorians of thoſe days, when treating of Britiſh affairs, had any portion of them been then eſtabliſhed in Britain.

The firſt information that can be relied on with any degree of certainty, as to the origin of the Jews in this kingdom, occurs not until about three centuries after the introduction of the Saxons; when it being perhaps feared, that they might gain too many converts, and become more numerous than was con-

[*c*] See an epiſtle of this emperor in Spelman's Councils, vol. I. p. 43.

ſiſtent

ſiſtent with the ſafety of the church, a canon was iſſued, directing "Ut nullus Chriſtianus judaizare præſumat nec conviviis eorum participare [*d*]." This canon is ſtill extant among the excerptions of Egbert archbiſhop of York, who is reported to have been brother to Eadbert, king of the Northumbrians, and to have attained the archiepiſcopal dignity about the year 735: he held the ſee of York thirty-ſix years, during which time, it may be preſumed, theſe excerptions were collected by him, from the body of canons and eccleſiaſtical regulations then in force.

It may be deemed not a little extraordinary, that none of the ordinances of the Anglo Saxon monarchs, make any proviſions for the government of the Jews, or take any notice of them; with the exception only of one, among thoſe generally known by the diſtinction of the laws of the Confeſſor, and which were afterwards confirmed by William the Conqueror; wherein is this remarkable clauſe, "Sciendum eſt quoque, quod omnes Judæi ubicunque in regno ſunt, ſub tutela et defenſione regis ligea debent eſſe, nec quilibet eorum alicui diviti ſe poteſt ſubdere ſine regis licentia: Judæi enim et omnia ſua regis ſunt: quod ſi quiſpiam detinuerit eos, vel pecuniam eorum, perquirat rex (ſi vult) tanquam ſuum proprium [*e*]." If this law and the preceding canon are genuine, they effectually deſtroy a poſition that has been maintained by ſeveral of our hiſtorians; viz. that the Jews were firſt introduced by William the Conqueror. The authenticity of the latter, has not as yet (that I know of) been called in queſtion; the former has; but by a writer [*f*], whoſe violent prejudices and inaccuracy, have rendered him the ſub-

[*d*] Spelmanni Concil. vol. I. p. 275. Wilkins Concil, vol. I. p. 111.

[*e*] Spelm. Concil. vol. I. p. 623. Lambarde, Leg. Saxon, p. 133. Wilkins Concil. vol. I. p. 313.

[*f*] Prynne, in his 2d Demurrer, printed 1656.

ject

ject of frequent and ſevere animadverſion. The materials upon which he founds his objection, are inſerted in an ingenious tract written by a late learned member of this Society [*g*]; who likewiſe perfectly agreed with him in opinion upon this ſubject, they are theſe:

"This law relating to the Jews, is inſerted in the Confeſſor's or rather William the Conqueror's laws in Hoveden, p. 604, and is printed by Sir Henry Spelman in his Councils, p. 623, from a MS. which he ſays, agrees with the copy in Hoveden; but it is not in the true original copy of the Confeſſor's and Conqueror's laws of Abbot Ingulphus (who flouriſhed in that age, was preſent at their confirmation, and then brought them to Croyland Abbey) publiſhed by Mr. Selden, nor yet in Brompton. Therefore, ſays Prynne, I cannot but reject it as counterfeit; and eſteem it rather a declaration of the Jews condition in England in Hoveden's time, inſerted by him, as well as ſome other things of punier date, among theſe laws, rather than any law of or in the Confeſſor's days; wherein I can find no evidence of any Jews reſidence here; but only this interpolation, and forged law, which Mr. Selden wholly omits in his collection of his laws."

From theſe reaſons of Mr. Prynne's, which ſavour a little, of the general perverſeneſs obſervable in his writings, it is apparent, that he not only poſitively denied the authenticity of the law in queſtion; but alſo was of opinion, that no Jews exiſted in this kingdom, during the reign of the Confeſſor.

The account which Ingulphus, who was an Engliſhman, and ſecretary to the Conqueror, gives us of that copy of the code of

[*g*] The queſtion whether a Jew born within the Britiſh dominions, was before the making the late act of parliament, a perſon capable by law to purchaſe and hold lands to him and his heirs, fairly ſtated and conſidered. By a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, (P. C. Webb, Eſq.) 4to, 1753.

laws,

laws, which he has inſerted in his Hiſtory of Croyland Abbey, as being the authentic one; is in truth ſuch, as muſt impreſs us with a more favorable idea of it, than we ſhould perhaps otherwiſe have entertained; he ſays, "that he brought from London to his monaſtery, the laws of the moſt juſt king Edward, which his lord the renowned king William had proclaimed to be authentic, and to be always inviolably obſerved under pain of the ſevereſt penalties [*b*]."

But whilſt the authenticity of this latter code is admitted, it is by no means a neceſſary concluſion that the other ſhould be ſpurious, and it muſt be obſerved, that at beſt Ingulphus's copy is only a tranſlation of the laws, from the language in which they were originally compoſed, into the Norman French; and ſo apprehenſive was the Conqueror, of a miſinterpretation of them, that according to Ingulphus himſelf, he commended them to his juſtices in the original, leſt through ignorance they might be miſtaken [*i*].

May it not be preſumed, that this was a ſelection only of ſuch of the Confeſſor's laws as were entirely conformable to the taſte of the Conqueror? He had bound himſelf to govern the Engliſh by their ancient laws; but ſome of theſe were now grown obſolete, and others perhaps militated againſt the Norman cuſtoms; this therefore might only include ſuch as were immediately adapted to the times, and neceſſary to be then inforced.

Mr. Prynne's argument tends to prove, that as no Jews were in England during the reign of the Confeſſor, of courſe that part which relates to them among the laws of that king, muſt ſufficiently betray its own impoſture, and be a manifeſt deception invented by Hoveden; but herein he ſeems to have totally

[*b*] Hiſtoria Ingulphi inter Galei Rerum Anglic. ſcriptores, I. 88.
[*i*] Ubi ſupra.

differed from the very learned editor of the "Concilia," who affixes no preciſe time to the laws which paſs under the name of Edward the Confeſſor, not thinking them to have been inſtituted by him, but rather by his anceſtors, particularly Canute as William of Malmeſbury ſuppoſes: "Non refero (ſays Spelman) Confeſſoris has leges ad certum regni ejus annum aliquem, quod non ab eo inſtitutas cenſeo, ſed ex anteceſſorum ſuorum legibus (præſertim regis Canuti, ut animadvertit Malmeſburius) ductæ plerunque eſſent et promulgatæ:" and he ſtrengthens his opinion by their very title, "Incipiunt leges S. Edwardi regis, quas in Anglia tenuit," his obſervation upon which is "id eſt, obſervavit; non quas tulit, hoc eſt, inſtituit [*k*]."

Allowing then Mr. Prynne's hypotheſis in part to be well founded, or rather ſo much of it as denies the reſidence of the Jews in England in the Confeſſor's reign, the following inference may be reaſonably drawn from it; that as none of them at that time dwelt here, ſo there was no neceſſity they ſhould be noticed in the code of juriſprudence to be adopted at the Conqueſt, for the future government of the realm, from the ancient ſyſtem of laws then extant.

This being admitted, it cannot afterwards be argued with propriety, that the omiſſion of this law in the Norman tranſlation, is to the excluſion of its validity; ſince both copies may be in moſt reſpects genuine; the one calculated for the more immediate purpoſes of the times; the other containing ſuch laws as were in general not admiſſible from the cauſes above aſſigned.

It muſt not however be concealed that all theſe laws publiſhed as the Confeſſor's do not bear the marks of genuineneſs. The twelfth law in particular which treats of Danegeld, Mr. Webb has demonſtrated to be a forgery [*l*]; ſince it mentions what

[*k*] Spelm. Concil. vol. I. p. 625.
[*l*] Mr. Webb's Treatiſe, p. 32.

paſſed in the reign of William Rufus. This paſſage had been before objected to by the learned Editor himſelf (Sir Henry Spelman) who has noted in the margin [*m*], "videtur hoc caput additum eſſe tempore Henrici ſecundi;" but he no where ſignifies any doubts reſpecting the law "de Judæis." According to the teſtimony of a Jewiſh hiſtorian, quoted by Baſnage [*n*], the Jews were baniſhed this realm, though he is ſilent as to the occaſion of their expulſion, early in the eleventh century. If this writer is accurate in point of time, this circumſtance is an additional reaſon why they are totally omitted in the Conqueror's laws, as they were in all probability not re-eſtabliſhed antecedent to the compilation of that code. Enough perhaps has been advanced, if not to induce general conviction, yet at leaſt to juſtify the aſſertion, that ſome portion of the Jews had ſettled themſelves here anterior to the Norman Conqueſt; not to multiply quotations which might be deemed ſuperfluous, one more ſhall be adduced, which ought properly to have been mentioned before.

About the year 833 Witlaf, king of the Mercians, granted a charter to the monks of Croyland, which is recited at large in Ingulphus; wherein he confirmed to them, not only ſuch lands as had at any time been given to the monaſtery by the kings of Mercia, but alſo all their poſſeſſions whatever, whether they were originally beſtowed on them by Chriſtians or *Jews*. "Omnes terras, et tenementa, et eorum peculia, quæ reges Merciorum, et eorum proceres, vel alii fideles Chriſtiani, vel *Judæi*, dictis monachis dederunt [*o*]."

Dr. Tovey, the ingenious Author of "Anglia Judaica," after the inſertion of this paſſage, makes this remark: "It is reaſon-

[*m*] Spelm. Concil. vol. I. p. 621.
[*n*] Hiſtoire des Juifs, tom. v. p. 1660.
[*o*] Ingulph. p. 857.

able to ſuppoſe, that, ſince the Jews are mentioned in this charter as having lands to give, or alienate, they muſt have been ſettled here ſome conſiderable time before they could have purchaſed them themſelves [*p*]."

Inconcluſive as ſome of theſe authorities may be imagined, and uncertain as others may appear, ſtill, from their concurrent teſtimony, and no proof to be advanced on the contrary but what hath merely conjecture for its foundation, it will become difficult for thoſe to ſupport their argument who, concurring in opinion with ſome of our hiſtorians, aſſert that the Jews were firſt introduced by William the Conqueror.

The motives which actuated this monarch, in their re-eſtabliſhment, are not very favorable to his character. The Magdeburgh Centuriators ſay, it was effected in conſideration of a gratuity of a pecuniary nature, " ob numeratum pretium [*q*]." According to Hollinſhed, the Conqueror brought them from Rouen in Normandy, and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupy [*r*]; but it is not indicated in what particular year of his reign this event happened.

Hitherto we may obſerve hiſtorical information reſpecting them to be remarkably defective; but, ſubſequent to this reign, many particulars are recorded, which tend to the *illuſtration* of their hiſtory, and it were to be wiſhed to the *honor* of ours; but the reverſe of that is too well authenticated to be doubted, as every one may quickly perceive who will take the pains to peruſe that valuable work before noticed, publiſhed by Dr. Tovey, under the title of " Anglia Judaica."

In this work, the ſtyle whereof may be however thought to deſcend in ſome few inſtances beneath the dignity requiſite to

[*p*] Anglia Judaica, p. 3.
[*q*] Cent. 11. cap. 14.
[*r*] Holliaſhed's Chronicle, vol. III. p. 15.

hiſtory,

hiſtory, may be found many curious facts concerning the Jews; with an ample detail of the various forms of cruelty and extortion practiſed upon them, ſometimes under the ſpecious pretext of religion, but more frequently by attributing to them crimes they could have no idea of committing.

For who can ſeriouſly believe the many ſtories, ſo aſſiduouſly propagated againſt them, of their having crucified Chriſtian children? The author laſt-mentioned ſeems entirely to reject the evidence produced on theſe occaſions, as inſufficient and groundleſs, and with great reaſon obſerves, that they are never ſaid to have practiſed it, but at ſuch times as the king was manifeſtly in great want of money [*s*].

Of the ſame opinion was Fuller, who in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſays, "How ſufficiently theſe crimes were witneſſed againſt them, I know not. In ſuch caſes, weak proofs are of proof againſt rich offenders; and we may well believe, that, if their perſons were guilty of *ſome* of theſe faults, their eſtates were guilty of all the reſt [*t*]."

Among other oppreſſions, the well known ſtory which Matthew Paris relates [*u*] of the Jew at Briſtol, from whom king John exacted ten thouſand marks, a prodigious ſum of money! and whoſe refuſal of complying with ſo arbitrary an impoſition drew upon him an order, that he ſhould loſe a tooth every day, until he complied with the demand, is not the greateſt inſtance of barbarity that might be advanced on this ſubject.

Our ancient records and hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that the condition of the Jews in England in early time was vaſſalage: the words in the above law of the Confeſſor's have a

[*s*] Anglia Judaica, p. 11.
[*t*] Fuller, book iii. p. 87.
[*u*] Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1210.

ſtrong

ſtrong tendency to that effect; but, if they are to be conſidered in that light, how much more ſo is the following paſſage in Bracton de legibus [*w*]? "Judæus verò nihil proprium habere poteſt, quia quicquid acquirit, non ſibi acquirit, ſed regi; quia non vivunt ſibi ipſis, ſed aliis, et ſic aliis acquirunt et non ſibi ipſis."

If ſuch was the current law of the realm, we may well ſuppoſe that their ſituation muſt have been highly diſagreeable; expoſed to all the ignominy which their difference in religion muſt have rendered them liable to, and to all the inſults which are attendant upon ſervitude. Mr. Webb ſuſpected this paſſage was not Bracton's, but an interpolation, and for that reaſon inſpected a manuſcript copy in the library of Lincoln's Inn, which had been preſented to that Society by Ralph Cholmeley, who was recorder of London in 1553; whereby his conjecture was confirmed, no ſuch paſſage exiſting therein.

Upon careful examination, however, of ſeveral MSS. of Bracton in the Britiſh Muſæum, I am inclined to think the reading of the printed copies to be right; ſince, though of eight [*x*], which remain in that repoſitory, three only have this exceptionable part extant, yet in point of antiquity theſe are much to be preferred to the others, in which it is omitted: but whether the paſſage is genuine or not, it cannot be denied, that it is a very arbitrary and unreaſonable one, and ſcarcely allowable even by the feudal ſyſtem.

The humiliating ſituation in which the Jews were then placed may be fairly aſſigned as a reaſon why no charters of very early

[*w*] Bracton, 1569, lib. v. tract 4. cap. 6. ſect. 6.

[*x*] Seven of theſe are in the Harleian library, Numbers 653. 656. 763. 817. 1242. 3416. 3422. whereof the firſt and fifth numbers retain the paſſage, as does alſo a very fair copy in the Royal library marked in Caſley's Catalogue 9. E. 15.

date

date are diſcoverable, wherein they appear as parties; for being vaſſals of the crown, and having no property of their own worth conſideration, they could have no power of conveying any to others: but this muſt be only underſtood of ſuch Jews as were natives of the country, it being hardly to be imagined, that the property of foreign Jews was immediately transferable to the king upon their arrival in this iſland. As the nature of the Jewiſh charters is perhaps not generally known, it may not be conſidered uſeleſs to inveſtigate that matter ſhortly in this place, eſpecially as ſeveral erroneous notions ſeem to have crept into our gloſſaries and dictionaries of the law, in the definition they give of them.

That great orientaliſt Mr. Selden, who is juſtly reputed one of the beſt ſcholars England ever produced, informs us [*y*], "that in ancient time, when a contract was made, two deeds were written; one containing the contract at full, with all covenants and conditions, which was folded up, and ſealed with the buyer's ſeal; the other containing a general recital of what thing only the contract was; and this laſt was ſhewn open to witneſſes, who inſcribed their names on the back of both, that ſo the witneſſes or ſtanders-by might not know the ſum, time of redemption, or ſuch like, yet be able to juſtify the inſtrument comprehending them, by the inſcription of their names. The ſeal they called חתם, *chethom*, and the deed or inſtrument written ספר, *ſepher*, which is a book alſo: but the rabbins expreſs their deeds, releaſes, obligations, and the like, by the name of שטר, *ſhetar*, or *ſetar*, whence the word *ſtarrum* or *ſtarre*, is uſed for acquittances or written teſtimonies of contracts."

Such is the account Mr. Selden gives of their charters; and if Dr. Cowell, the author of the Interpreter, had but followed this definition, he would not have led his ſucceſſors [*z*], who

[*y*] Titles of Honor, 4to, 1614, p. 328.
[*z*] Manley, Jacob, &c.

have

have uniformly copied from him, into errors; but in that work, in other reſpects worthy commendation, under the article *Star*, he explains it thus:

"Star. Starrum. A contraction from the Hebrew *Shetar*, which ſignifies a deed or contract. All the deeds, obligations, and releaſes of the Jews, were anciently called *ſtars*, written for the moſt part in Hebrew alone, or elſe in Hebrew or Latin; one of which yet remains in the Treaſury of the Exchequer, written in Hebrew without pricks [*a*], in King John's reign, &c."

Againſt this explanation, I muſt firſt object, that *ſtar* is not derived from the Hebrew language, but the rabbinical or Chaldaic, no ſuch word being viſible in the Bible, the only true ſtandard of Hebrew; for wherever occaſion required a word of that import, *ſepher* is uſed, and not *ſhetar*, which is a word invented with many others, by the rabbinical writers, on account of the few radical words which the Hebrew language affords.

Sebaſtian Munſter in his Dictionary of the Chaldaic Tongue [*b*], after noting ſeveral meanings which this word conveys, adds "שפר, ſhetar eſt inſtrumentum literarum, literæ alicujus contractus, cautio in qua debita vel aliquis contractus ſcribuntur;" and ſays, it is frequently to be met with in the Commentaries, by which he means, without doubt, thoſe comments which the Rabbins have written upon the Sacred Scriptures.

In the next place, *all* the charters of the Jews were not, as Cowell aſſerts, called *ſtars*. Their writings and deeds were frequently the ſame as the Chriſtians made uſe of, and like them were ſtyled *chartæ* and *chirographa* [*c*]; and where a contract was made by cyrograph between a Chriſtian and a Jew, the

[*a*] More properly *vowel points*.
[*b*] Baſil, 4°. 1527, p. 401.
[*c*] Madox's Hiſt. of Exchcq. p. 161.

ſeverity

ſeverity of the law at that time was ſuch, that, if the counterpart of the cyrograph was not found depoſited in a cheſt kept for that purpoſe, the Jew was to loſe his debt.

As many of theſe Jewiſh charters have been publiſhed at length by Selden, Madox, and other writers, it will be unneceſſary to add to the number by the inſertion of any in this paper: it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that they were very ſeldom in Hebrew alone, but generally in Latin with the Hebrew underneath, and frequently in Latin or in French, without the addition of any Hebrew.

The language in which theſe Hebrew contracts, or ſtars, was generally written, was a compound of pure Hebrew and Chaldee, intermixed with a variety of words in other languages, where neceſſity demanded them; which was very often the caſe, on account of the introduction of new words and phraſes, totally oppoſite to the genius of thoſe oriental tongues.

This is candidly acknowledged in a vocabulary ſome few years ſince publiſhed in Hebrew, Engliſh, and Spaniſh, by Jacob Moreira, a learned Jew [*d*]; who confeſſes that for ſuch phraſes as were not to be found in the Holy Bible, he was obliged to have recourſe to the rabbinical writings; adding that in conſequence of innumerable perſecutions, which the Jews in different ages have undergone, much of the Hebrew language has been unfortunately loſt, ſo that but few veſtiges of pure Hebrew now remain.

In the Britiſh Muſæum are ſeveral of theſe ſtars [*e*]; and many others ſtill remain in the Tower, Chapter Houſe at Weſtminſter, and other repoſitories of public records.

The Appendix to Mr. Webb's Eſſay contains ſeveral copies of deeds, in which Jews are parties; the moſt ancient is a

[*d*] 4°. Lond. A. M. 5533.
[*e*] Bib. Cotton. Nero. C. III.

final concord, bearing date the 35th year of Henry the Second, previous to which reign I know not of any deeds that are printed at length, wherein Jews exiſt as principals, ſince their reſtoration by William the Conqueror.

The Jewiſh charters are very rarely ſeen with ſeals appendant; and where exceptions occur to the general rule, they ſeem to have been done more from conformity to the uſual practice of the time, than from any cuſtom prevalent among the Jews, of adding validity to their charters by the uſe of ſeals.

It is aſſerted by Pliny in his Natural Hiſtory [*f*], that the eaſtern nations contented themſelves with letters, omitting ſeals: but Selden, though he cites this paſſage [*g*], is poſitive that they were anciently uſed by the Jews; yet it is worthy of remark, that the word חתם, *chethom*, or *chotham*, which this learned author uſes in one ſenſe only, hath the ſignification both of a ſignature and a ſeal.

None of the ancient Hebrew coins now extant are obſerved to bear the impreſſion of animals, which was formerly, as a well informed writer takes notice, prohibited both to Jews and Mahometans, through fear of idolatry [*h*].

And yet though the ſame prohibition would have operated equally upon ſeals, one is to be ſeen in Anglia Judaica appendant to a deed in the reign of Henry the Third, with the impreſſion of ſomething like a griffin; but ſo execrably done, as to give occaſion to the witty author of that work to declare, that the graven image upon this ſeal could not be thought a breach of the ſecond commandment, ſince, though an exact

[*f*] Hiſt. Nat. XXXIII. cap. 1.
[*g*] Titles of Honor, p. 328.
[*h*] Hottinger, Cippi Hebraici, p. 148.

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copy from the original, it was the likeneſs of nothing that is in heaven, earth, or water [*i*].

This reſtriction, which the Jews but faintly obſerved at that time, is now I believe wholly diſregarded, as being a point in which religion has very little concern; and therefore all animals are now indiſcriminately uſed upon their ſeals, as fancy directs.

There were many repoſitories for the Jewiſh deeds eſtabliſhed in England; but the greateſt of theſe was in a particular part of the Exchequer at Weſtminſter, which, from the uſe that was made of it, was called Scaccarium Judæorum; and here all matters, in which the Jews had any concern, were regulated by proper officers, appointed to that intent by the King, under the title of Juſtices of the Jews.

Of theſe officers, and the nature of their truſt, as well as of the records under their peculiar cognizance and juriſdiction, an elaborate diſquiſition was inſerted by Mr. Madox, in his valuable Hiſtory of the Exchequer (*k*).

The nearneſs of this repoſitory in the Exchequer to the Star Chamber, occaſioned a late very learned judge [*l*] to offer a conjecture, that the latter received its denomination from the deeds called ſtars therein depoſited; and in ſupport of his etymology he cites a record of the 41ſt Edward III. wherein it is ſaid, that the King's council, his chancellor, treaſurer, juſtices, and other ſages, were aſſembled en la chaumbre des eſtoilles, pres la reſcript al Weſtminſter, for (adds the learned judge) in proceſs of time, when the meaning of the Jewiſh ſtars was forgotten, the word ſtar-chamber was naturally rendered in law

[*i*] Anglia Judaica, p. 183.
[*k*] Folio edition, 1711, p. 150.
[*l*] Blackſtone, in his Commentaries, vol. IV. p. 266.

French, *la chaumbre des eſtoilles*, and in law Latin *camera ſtellata*; which continued to be the ſtyle in Latin till the diſſolution of that court.

At firſt view this etymology ſeems plauſible; but it will not bear the teſt of examination, for the whole diſtance of time, between the baniſhment of the Jews, which happened A. D. 1290, and the 41ſt Ed. III. when this record is dated, is but ſeventy-ſeven years; ſo that it is extremely improbable that the memory of the Jewiſh tranſactions ſhould in that ſmall compaſs of time be entirely extinguiſhed.

And to no other cauſe than abſolute ignorance *can* be aſcribed the circumſtance of this repoſitory's obtaining the appellation of *la chaumbre des eſtoilles*, if in reality it were the ſame with the ſtar chamber; ſince it is apparently very difficult to conceive, that the Jewiſh inſtrument, ſhetar or ſtar, ſhould ever have been ſo far miſunderſtood, as to have been rendered in French *eſtoil*, when thoſe very inſtruments were written frequently in that language, and were known by the trifling corruption of *eſtars*.

There appears therefore, in the preſent inſtance, no reaſon to depart from the uſual derivation; which is, that the roof of the ſtar chamber was anciently ornamented with gilded ſtars; and though no actual proof can be at this time produced of that fact, it is ſupported by the teſtimony of two ſuch able authorities as Sir Edward Coke, in his Inſtitutes [*m*], and Sir Thomas Smith de Republica Anglorum [*n*].

Having already treſpaſſed conſiderably upon the time of this learned Society, by theſe imperfect obſervations; I ſhall con-

[*m*] 4th Inſtit. 66.

[*n*] Lib. ii. cap. 4.

clude

clude them by taking notice, that the 18th year of Edward the Firſt, A. D. 1290, is the æra of a ſecond baniſhment of the Jews from this kingdom, without any cauſe being properly aſſigned for their expulſion: and that more than 350 years elapſed, before they were again re-eſtabliſhed, ſince which their tranſactions are ſo recent, as not to require any illuſtration.

JOHN CALEY.

Gray's Inn,
Feb. 26, 1787.

XXXVII.

XXXVII. *An hiſtorical and deſcriptive Account of the Ancient Painting preſerved at* Cowdray *in* Suſſex, *the Seat of Lord Viſcount* Montague: *repreſenting the* Proceſſion *of King* Edward VI. *from the* Tower of London *to* Weſtminſter, *February 19th, A. D.* 1547, *previous to his Coronation. By* John Topham, *Eſq. F. R. A. S.*

Read April 19, 1787.

THE drawing now exhibited is made from one of thoſe curious hiſtorical paintings which have been long ſince introduced to the notice of this Society by our late learned Vice Preſident Sir Joſeph Ayloffe, Baronet, in an account of ſome ancient hiſtorical paintings at Cowdray in Suſſex, publiſhed in the Tranſactions of this Society, Archaeologia, vol. III. p. 239—272. In that memoir may be ſeen a minute deſcription of many of thoſe valuable repreſentations which preſerve ſeveral intereſting parts of our national events, and exhibit to our view the ſtate of the arts, and the dreſſes, manners, and uſages, which prevailed amongſt our anceſtors about the middle of the ſixteenth century.

The painting which is now the object of our attention fills one of the compartments on the right-hand ſide of the great dining-room in that noble manſion; and contains the proceſſion of king Edward VI. from the Tower of London to Weſtminſter, the day preceding that of his coronation.

At the deceaſe of king Henry VIII., Edward his ſon and ſucceſſor was but nine years and three months old. The young monarch was then at Hertford, together with the princeſs Elizabeth his ſiſter; and Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and Sir Anthony Brown, were deputed by the council to inform their new ſovereign of the death of his father, and to conduct him to the Tower of London; where, upon his arrival, he was proclaimed king, on the 31ſt of January, A. D. 1546-7.

When the regency was ſettled in purſuance of the will of the deceaſed king, the earl of Hertford, uncle to the young king, was created duke of Somerſet, and choſen protector of the realm, and governor of the king's perſon. And the funeral obſequies of king Henry having been performed with great pomp and magnificence at Windſor, on the 16th of February, preparations were made to ſolemnize the coronation of king Edward. The duke of Somerſet was created earl marſhall of England for life; Henry marquis of Dorſet was appointed to the office of great-conſtable of England [*a*] for the 19th day of February only, which is expreſſed in the patent to be the day immediately preceding the day of ſolemnizing the king's intended coronation; and John lord Ruſſell, keeper of the privy ſeal, was appointed high ſteward of England for the 20th day of February only. Many dignities and honours were conferred; and forty Knights of the Bath were made, to add to the ſplendour of the ceremony. A new form was drawn for the coronation [*b*], to relieve the young king as much as poſſible from the fatigue which it would neceſſarily occaſion to one of his tender years.

[*a*] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 129.

[*b*] See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. II. Collect. p. 93.

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The order for the proceſſion from the Tower to Weſtminſter is fortunately in being [*c*], and will afford great aſſiſtance in deſcribing the picture now before us: and although the whole of the ceremonial could not be repreſented by the painter, yet the manner of his giving it, being a bird's-eye view, enabled him to convey a more comprehenſive repreſentation of the ſcene than any other mode of deſcription would have allowed him to do.

"On Saturday the 19th day of February (ſays the order), "about one of the clock in the afternoon, the king's majeſty "proceeded from the Tower through the city of London in "moſt royal and goodly wiſe towards his palace of Weſtmin- "ſter. The ſtreets, through all the way where the king ſhould "paſs, were well gravelled in every place, and railed on the "one ſide from Grace Church-ſtreet to the Little Conduit in "Cheap, to the intent that the horſes ſhould not ſlide on the "pavement, nor the people be hurt by the horſes in the high "ſtreets. Within theſe rails ſtood the crafts along in their or- "der, to the Little Conduit aforeſaid, where ſtood the alder- "men. On the other ſide the ſtreets, in many places, "ſtood prieſts and clerks with their croſſes and cenſers, and "in their beſt ornaments, to cenſe the king; and all the way "where the king ſhould paſs, on either ſide, were the win- "dows and ways garniſhed with cloths of tapeſtry, arras, "cloths of gold and of ſilver, with cuſhions of the ſame, gar- "niſhed with ſtreamers and banners, as richly as might be de- "viſed. In many places were ordained pageants and devices, "and therein goodly melody, and eloquent ſpeeches treating of "noble hiſtories, to the joyful welcoming and reſpect of ſo "noble a king."

[*c*] See it in Leland's Collectan. vol. IV. p. 310, printed from a MS. formerly belonging to William Le Neve, Norroy.

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The order of the proceſſion is then declared to be as followeth:

Imprimis. The king's meſſengers, two and two.
Gentlemen, two and two.
Strangers, ambaſſadors' ſervants, two and two.
Trumpeters, cloathed in red damaſk, two and two.
Chaplains without dignity.
Gentlemen and noblemen's ſons.
The Barons after their eſtates.
Biſhops.
Earls' ſons.
Marquiſes' ſons.
Dukes' younger ſons.
Earls.
Marquiſes.
Dukes.
The comptroller of the houſhold and the ſecretary of Venice.
The treaſurer of the king's houſe, and one of the ambaſſadors of the Proteſtants.
The king's almoner, with another ambaſſador of the Proteſtants.
Sir William Peters, ſecretary, with another ambaſſador of the Proteſtants.
Sir William Paget, ſecretary, with duke Philip of Almain.
The lord admiral, with one of the Scottiſh ambaſſadors.
The lord privy ſeal, with another of the Scottiſh ambaſſadors.
The lord great maſter, with Poley, baron de la Grade de France.
The lord chancellor, with the French king's ambaſſadors.
The archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the Emperor's ambaſſadors.
Sir Percival Hart, knight harbinger, bearing the king's majeſty's cloak and hat.

Two gentlemen uſhers, John Norroys and William Rainsford, repreſenting the two ſtates of Normandy and Guyen, cloathed in robes of ſcarlet, furred with mynever, and caps of ſtate on their heads, carrying about them in bawdrickwiſe two mantles of ſcarlet velvet.

Garter in the king's coat of arms on the right hand, and the mayor of London carrying a mace on the left.

The ſword, born by the conſtable of England for that time, viz. the marquis of Dorſet.

On the marquis's right hand, the earl of Warwick, lord great chamberlain of England.

And on the left hand, the earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain, ſupplying the room as earl marſhall, in lieu of the lord protector.

A little before the king, the duke of Somerſet, lord protector.

The king's majeſty, richly apparelled with a gown of cloth of ſilver, all over embroidered with damaſk gold, with a girdle of white velvet, wrought with Venice ſilver, garniſhed with precious ſtones, as rubies and diamonds, with true lovers' knots of pearls; a doublet of white velvet embroidered with Venice ſilver garniſhed with the like precious ſtones and pearls, and a pair of buſkins with white velvet. On his horſe was a capariſon of crimſon ſattin, embroidered with pearls and damaſk gold.

His highneſs's footmen in their rich coats, going about his grace on either ſide of the canopy; the canopy being born by knights, with certain aſſiſtants to them.

Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe, leading a goodly courſer of honour very richly trapped.

Sir Francis Bryant, maſter of the Henchmen, riding alone.

The penſioners and men of arms with their poll axes, going on either ſide of the way on foot from the beginning of the two eſtates

eſtates of Normandy and Guyen, and continuing till the gentlemen of the privy chamber.

Gentlemen and grooms of the privy chamber riding two and two. After them the captain of the guard riding alone.

The guard, five in a rank on foot, with their halberts in their hands.

The noblemen and gentlemen's ſervants going in order after the degrees and ſtates of their maſters on foot.

The order of the proceſſion then deſcribes the temporary emblematical ornaments and devices which were placed at the Conduit in Cornhill, at the Standard, at the Great Conduit, at the Croſs, and at the Little Conduit in Cheapſide, and at the entrance into St. Paul's Church Yard; and the ſumptuous decorations which were there exhibited for the amuſement of the young king, and the ſpeeches which were intended to have been made, had the time permitted, by young perſons in the characters of Royalty, Juſtice, Truth, Faith, Mercy, &c. accompanied with muſical inſtruments of various kinds; and informs us that ſomewhat beyond the Croſs in Cheapſide, "the mayor "of London, with his brethren the aldermen, attended upon "the king's highneſs in their ſeemly apparell, and received his "grace with a propoſition pronounced by the recorder, Mr. "Maſhbroke, and Mr. Chamberlain of London; and there "they preſented his highneſs with a purſe, having a thouſand "marks of gold in it; the which his grace received and gave "them thanks."

"When the king was advanced almoſt to St. George's Church "in Paul's Church-yard, (continues the order of the proceſſion) "there was a rope as great as the cable of a ſhip, ſtretched "in length from the battlements of Paul's ſteeple, with a "great anchor at one end faſtened a little before Mr. Dean of "Paul's houſe-gate; and when his majeſty approached near

" the ſame, there came a man, a ſtranger, being a native of " Arragon, lying on the rope, his head forward, caſting his " arms and legs abroad, running on his breaſt on the rope from " the battlements to the ground, as if it had been an arrow out " of a bow, and ſtayed on the ground; then he came to the " king's majeſty and kiſſed his foot, and ſo after certain words " to his highneſs, departed from him again, and went upwards " upon the rope till he was come over the midſt of the church- " yard, where he, having a rope about him, played certain miſ- " teries on the rope, as tumbling and caſting one leg from an- " other; then took he the rope and tied it to the cable, and tied " himſelf by the right leg, a little beneath the wriſt of the foot, " and hung by the one leg a certain ſpace, and after recovered " himſelf up again with the ſaid rope, and unknit the knot and " came down again; which ſtayed his majeſty with all the train " a good ſpace of time."

The proceſſion then advanced along Fleet-ſtreet to the Great Conduit there, then through Temple-bar, and ſo on to the King's Palace at Weſtminſter, where all the noblemen alighted, and ſtood in order as they had conducted his highneſs; and at the hall-door he took his leave of the ambaſſadors, giving them thanks for their pains, and retired into his chamber. Then commandment was given to all the noblemen and others to be at Weſtminſter the next day by ſeven of the clock in the morning, in their beſt array, to give their attendance upon the coronation.

Our picture nearly correſponds with this ceremonial. It repreſents the proceſſion the whole diſtance from the Tower to Weſtminſter, at the point of time when the king was in Cheapſide, having juſt paſſed the celebrated croſs which then ſtood in that ſtreet. The cavalcade is proceeding through the arched gate-way leading into St. Paul's church-yard, where it is loſt

for a time, but is again ſeen at the top of Ludgate-ſtreet, advancing through Ludgate and Temple-Bar, and paſſes Charing-croſs to the Palace at Weſtminſter. The part meant principally to be repreſented is the ſouth ſide of Cheapſide, from Bow Church to the entrance into St. Paul's Church-yard. The Great Conduit near Bow Church, the Croſs, and the Little Conduit at the weſt end of Cheapſide, are given. The balconies and windows of all the houſes on the left-hand ſide of the ſtreet are crowded with ſpectators, and decorated with rich tapeſtry, cloths of gold, arras, and celebrated hiſtorical paintings, one whereof is evidently a copy from Raphael's famous picture of St. George on horſe-back; a print of which is engraven by Voſterman. The ſhops are ſet out with cups, vaſes, beakers, jars, and other elegant pieces of goldſmiths' work. The maſter of each houſe is ſtanding at his ſhop-door, and ſaluting the king as he paſſes. On the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet the ſeveral crafts or companies of the city are ranged, dreſſed in their livery-gowns, having their hoods over their ſhoulders, with the maſter of each company at its head. Theſe form a line from Bow Church to the Little Conduit, where was the ſtation for the aldermen. Over the archway into St. Paul's Church-yard are perſons ready to entertain the king on his approach with ſpeeches. Beyond Cheapſide is a view from the north of St. Paul's Church, with its high ſpire. From Ludgate-hill, through Temple-bar, to Charing-croſs and Weſtminſter, the ſpace is very open, having only a few houſes interſperſed here and there. The back-ground repreſents a view of London-bridge, the church of St. Mary Overy, the biſhop of Wincheſter's Palace, and the Bank-ſide in Southwark. And at a great diſtance in the country, to the left, is ſeen the river Ravenſbourn, and the Royal Palace at Eltham.

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The buildings repreſented in the line of the proceſſion, which more immediately attract our attention, are the Tower of London, Bow Church, the Great Conduit, the Croſs, the Little Conduit, and Goldſmith's-row in Cheapſide, the church of St. Paul's in its then ſtate, with its high ſpire, Ludgate, and Temple-bar, Charing-croſs, and the Palace at Weſtminſter. The view from the gate on Tower-hill to Cheapſide is fore-ſhortened, or almoſt entirely concealed; and the parts beyond Temple-bar, all the way to Weſtminſter, are contracted, ſo as to enable the painter to exhibit the whole diſtance to the view of the ſpectator.

The accuracy of this repreſentation is confirmed by a compariſon between this picture and ſeveral ancient deſcriptions; and by the teſtimony of co-eval hiſtorians. A beautiful view of London, in a ſmall painting preſerved in the Royal Library in the Britiſh Muſeum, 16 F. 2. made in the reign of king Henry VII. repreſents that monarch looking out of the White Tower upon a proceſſion of a knight, or an ambaſſador, arriving within the Tower-gates; and the king afterwards receives and embraces him. That painting is probably the oldeſt view of London now extant, and is a great curioſity. The Tower, the river Thames, London-bridge, Bow Church with its arches, St. Paul's Church with its tall ſpire, and Weſtminſter-abbey at a diſtance, are all repreſented in that painting, and nearly correſpond with the view of thoſe buildings preſerved in our piece; with this difference, that the view in the Muſeum was taken from the ſouth ſide, and ours from the north ſide of London. A plan of the Tower of London, from a ſurvey made in 1597, and the plan of London made by Aggas, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, both publiſhed by this Society, give views of the Tower in the ſtate it is here repreſented. There is no ſeparate view of the old Bow Church known to be extant, but ſeveral of the views of London

London made before the dreadful conflagration in 1666, repreſent that church, with its arched ſteeple, as it is here given. "From the arches wherewith the ſteeple was embelliſhed," ſays Stow [*d*], "this church derived its name *de arcubus*. It was "erected in the time of William the Conqueror, and was the "firſt church in the city that was built with arches.—The "ſteeple in a great meaſure fell down in 1271, and ſlew ſeve-"ral perſons, and was a long time before it was rebuilt.—In "1512 the ſteeple was finiſhed, except the lanthorns and bows, "which were afterwards built of ſtone, brought from Caen in "Normandy." This ancient church, on which the new one is founded, is now converted into a ſepulchral repoſitory; the ſtructure of which conſiſts of two rows of ſmall circular pillars [*e*] (the capitals whereof are now about two feet and a half above the floor of the vault, which ſhews the ground to be greatly raiſed in this neighbourhood), which form three iſles. "This church," adds Stow, "I take to be one of the oldeſt "Chriſtian temples in Great Britain."

The Great Conduit in Cheapſide was originally erected about the year 1285, when it was caſtellated with ſtone, and ciſterned with lead. It was ſupplied with ſweet water, conveyed in pipes of lead under ground from ſprings in the manor of Tyburn. Theſe ſprings were purchaſed by the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, of London, in 1237 (21 Henry III.) [*f*] from Gilbert de Sanford, and Alice the wife of William de Chabham; and the citizens were at a great expence in compleating the undertaking. To render it more uſeful, in 1439 the mayor and citizens obtained from the abbot and convent of Weſtminſter the grant of a fountain in a field called Oxleſe, within the lands and pre-

[*d*] Survey of London, p. 268.
[*e*] Maitland's Hiſt. of London 1138.
[*f*] Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 29. 33.

cinct

cinct of the manor of Padington, with the free uſe thereof; provided there was ſufficient water left for the farmers and tenants of that manor; and that the pipes ſhould not be laid in any part of the lands within the manor of Hide, which then belonged to the church of Weſtminſter. In 1443 king Henry VI. granted a licence to the mayor and citizens of London to erect the conduit a-new; and it was again re-built and enlarged, in 1479, by Thomas Ilame, one of the ſheriffs, in the manner repreſented in our picture.

The Great Croſs next preſents itſelf. This was one of the croſſes erected by king Edward I. in memory of Eleanor his queen. In 1484 this croſs was re-edified at the charge of divers citizens: John Fiſher, mercer, contributed 600 marks towards it. It was new-gilt all over in 1522, againſt the coming of the Emperor Charles V. and was new-burniſhed againſt the coronation of Edward VI. and alſo in 1553, againſt the coronation of queen Mary; and gilt in 1554, againſt the coming-in of king Philip. When the city became more populous, it was preſented by divers juries and queſts of wardmote, as ſtanding in the highway, to the hindrance of carriages, &c. but its demolition could not be obtained. In the year 1581, the people being offended at the emblematical figures wherewith the croſs was decorated [*g*], on the 21ſt of June in the night it was almoſt demoliſhed by perſons unknown, who ſtripped it of its images, and broke and defaced its ornaments. A proclamation was iſſued to diſcover the offenders, but without effect; and the figures were repaired. The people, however, took every opportunity to pillage and deſtroy it. In the year 1599 the timber of the croſs being decayed within, the lead was taken down,

[*g*] Theſe, according to Stow, p. 279, were the Virgin Mary, Edward the Confeſſor, the Reſurrection of Chriſt, figures of angels, &c.

with

with an intention to place a pyramid in its ſtead; but an order was ſent from the Privy Council to the lord mayor, in her majeſty's name, commanding the croſs to be forthwith repaired, and placed again as it formerly ſtood. Notwithſtanding this order, nothing was done for near a year after; whereupon the Privy Council wrote again to the lord mayor, ordering him, in the name of the queen, without further delay, to fulfill her majeſty's princely care therein, reſpecting the antiquity and continuance of that monument, as an emblem of Chriſtianity. After this, a croſs of timber was framed and ſet up, covered with lead, and gilded: but, a few nights after, the image of our Lady was again defaced, by plucking off her crown, and almoſt her head, taking her child from her, and ſtabbing her in the breaſt, &c. Iron rails were put round the croſs, to preſerve it, on the acceſſion of king James I. when it was repaired and beautified for the laſt time; and in 1643 it was completely demoliſhed.

The ſouth ſide of Cheapſide is ſeen in a highly embelliſhed ſtate. Maitland informs us [*b*], that the city then abounded in riches and ſplendour. "It was beautiful, ſays he, to behold "the glorious appearance of goldſmiths' ſhops in the ſouth row "of Cheapſide, which in a courſe reached from the Old Change "to Bucklerſbury, excluſive of four ſhops only of other trades "in all that ſpace." The gateway leading out of Cheapſide into St. Paul's Church-yard remained until the year 1662, when an act of parliament was made for enlarging divers narrow paſſages in the city: and this obſtruction was accordingly removed.

The Church of St. Paul is deſcribed by ſeveral hiſtorians; more eſpecially by Stow and Sir William Dugdale, and the various changes it underwent may there be ſeen [*i*]. They inform

[*b*] Vol. I. p. 301.

[*i*] Dugdale, 133. Stow, 553, b.

us that a fire happened in the ſteeple in 1444, occaſioned by lightning, the damage done by which was not repaired till 1462; the height of the tower, according to Stow, was two hundred and ſixty feet, and of the ſpire two hundred and ſeventy-four feet; and upon the top a weather-cock, made of copper and gilt, was ſet up; the length of it from head to tail being four feet, and the breadth over the wings three and a half feet, and the weight of it forty pounds; the ſhaft whereon it ſtood was fifteen feet ſix inches long, and the traverſe five feet ten inches, made of firm oak, having a covering of lead plated with copper; the compaſs of the ball was nine feet one inch, as appeared by meaſure at the taking it down for its better repair in 1553.

But not long after this (continues the account) on the 4th of June 1561, 3d of queen Elizabeth, a far worſe miſchance befell it, as ſuppoſed, by lightning alſo; but the ſexton before he died confeſſed it was not ſo. It was ſet on fire about three yards from the top, which conſumed the whole ſpire, and ſpread itſelf to the upper roof of the church and ailes, totally burning all the rafters, and what elſe was combuſtible, within the ſpace of four hours; the damage done coſt 6702*l.* and was five years in repairing, but no ſpire was then put up; which accounts for the views made ſubſequent to that period, repreſenting it with a low ſquare tower without a ſpire. In a print engraved by J. Wood, 1754, from a very old painting, the ſpire appears on the ſquare tower. If the not having deſcribed the remarkable ſpectacle of the flying Spaniard from the battlements of the ſteeple ſhould be objected, as a want of fidelity in the painter; it may be anſwered, that the order of the proceſſion expreſsly informs us, that the cable was not let down from the battlements, till the king was arrived in the churchyard, near St. George's Church [*k*]; and it would have been

[*k*] This ſhould be St. Gregory's Church, which ſtood on the ſouth ſide of the church of St. Paul, nearly oppoſite to the Dean's gateway.

an anachroniſm to have repreſented that ſcene in this picture, when the king was not advanced much farther than Bow Church in Cheapſide. Many perſons are however ſeen upon the north ſide of the battlements of the ſteeple, waiting the approach of the king, to aſſiſt the Spaniard to exhibit his feats, which were performed near the Dean's gateway on the ſouth ſide of the church; and therefore could not be viſible in a view taken from the oppoſite ſide of the building.

Ludgate is repreſented; and farther on Temple Bar is ſeen.

"In ancient time, ſays Maitland [*l*], at Temple Bar were "only poſts, rails, and a chain, as at Holborn, Smithfield, "and Whitechapel Bars. Afterwards there was a houſe of "timber erected acroſs the ſtreet, with a narrow gate-way, and "an entry on the ſouth ſide of it under the houſe; but, ſince "the great fire, there is erected a ſtately gate, built of Portland "ſtone, of the Corinthian order."

The ſpace beyond Temple Bar is truly repreſented to be almoſt deſtitute of buildings. An act was made in the 24th year of Henry VIIIth, cap. 11. directing, that the ſtreet-way between Charing Croſs and Strand Croſs (near where Somerſet Place is now ſituated) in the ſuburbs of London, ſhould be ſufficiently paved and maintained at the charge of the owners of the adjoining lands; and the Stat. of the 34th and 35th of Hen. VIII. cap. 12. recites, that "the way leading without Temple Bar, "weſtward, unto Clement's Inn gates, New Inn gates, and "Drury Place, the bridge called Strand Bridge [*m*], and the "way leading from the ſaid bridge towards Temple Bar; the "lane called Foſkue Lane, from the garden and tenement of "the biſhop of Lichfield; and the gardens and tenement, called

[*l*] Vol. II. p. 990.

[*m*] Strand Bridge was near where Saliſbury-ſtreet now is.

" the Bell and Proctors, down to the Strand Bridge ; were very " foul and full of pits and ſloughs, very perilous and noyſome, " and neceſſary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt " ſavours and occaſions of peſtilence ; and directs the ſame to be " paved and maintained at the expence of thoſe who had " lands or tenements adjoining thereto." Theſe authorities ſhew that the Strand was not then a continued ſtreet, but had only ſome buildings ſparingly erected upon it.

Howell, in his Londinopolis [*n*], tells us, " that London " and Weſtminſter were once above a mile aſunder, but by in- " ſenſible coalition and increaſe of people they came at laſt to " be united. The Union with Scotland in 1603, he adds, did " not a little conduce to make this union of London and Weſt- " minſter ; for the Scots, multiplying here mightily, neſtled " themſelves about the court, ſo that the Strand, from mud " walls and thatched houſes, came to the perfection of buildings " it was in his time."

Charing Croſs was one of thoſe marks of commemoration which king Edward I. erected for Eleanor his beloved queen. It underwent repairs and changes at different times, and in part continued till the Civil Wars, in the laſt century, when it was deſtroyed as a monument of ſuperſtition. Near this ſtood the hoſpital of St. Mary Rounceval, a cell to a priory of that name in Navarre. It was founded and endowed by William Marſhall, earl of Pembroke, in the reign of Henry III. and after the diſſolution it came into the poſſeſſion of Henry Howard, earl of Northampton (ſays Stow), who cauſed it to be demoliſhed in the reign of king James I. and upon the ſite thereof erected the ſtately edifice ſince called Northumberland Houſe. The greater part of the old houſe was built by Bernard Janſen: the frontiſpiece, which was of ſtone, was the

[*n*] Publiſhed in 1657.

work

work of Gerard Chriſtmaſs, who gave the deſign of Alderſgate. The ſouth ſide of the ſquare, the front of which towards the garden is very grand and ſtately, was built by Inigo Jones. The two wings extending from the garden-front towards the Thames were built by Charles duke of Somerſet. In 1750 this noble manſion was thoroughly repaired by the then earl and counteſs of Northumberland, when the four ſides of the court were new-faced with Portland ſtone, and finiſhed in the Roman ſtile of architecture.

Advancing forward is ſeen the palace at Whitehall, which had been anciently the reſidence of the kings of Scotland, when they came to London to attend the parliament. It was afterwards the reſidence of the archbiſhops of York, in whoſe poſſeſſion it continued, till, by an exchange made between king Henry VIII. and cardinal Wolſey, this palace came into the hands of that king, who repaired and beautified it.

The church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark is depicted according to old views of the tower of that church; and the Bankſide, Lambeth Marſh, and the Surry ſide of the Thames, are given nearly in the ſame naked ſtate in which they are laid down in the maps made about that period.

To trace the ſituation and reſemblance of all the buildings here exhibited, would be a work too tedious to attempt; but the accuracy of the painter being proved by authorities not to be doubted, with reſpect to the known and principal objects depicted by him, it may be reaſonably conjectured, that he was equally faithful in giving the ſubordinate buildings in the piece.

Theſe paintings at Cowdray have generally been aſcribed to Hans Holbein. Sir Joſeph Ayloffe was of opinion, that they were not the work of that celebrated maſter, but rather ſuppoſes them to have been the production of Theodore Bernardi, who, ſome years after, painted in the ſouth tranſept of Chi-

cheſter cathedral the portraits of the kings of England and the biſhops of that ſee, and afterwards ſettled with his family in that part of Suſſex. Whoever the painter might be, many of the figures therein repreſented are finely executed; and, according to the remark of the ingenious author of Anecdotes of Painting in England [*o*], "the hiſtories, habits, and cuſtoms "of the times, repreſented in theſe paintings, make the room "which contains them a ſingular curioſity."

[*o*] Vol. I. p. 94.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

AT A

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY

OF

ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That ſuch curious communications as the Council ſhall not think proper to publiſh *entire* be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Hiſtorical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

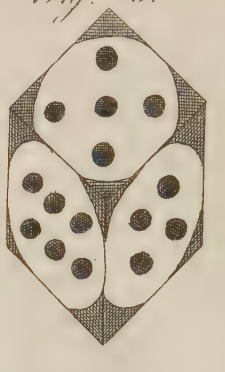


Fig. 6.

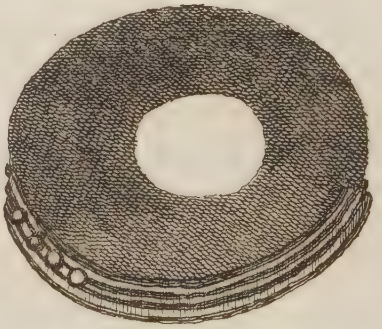


Fig. 7.

January 27, 1763.

MR. Bartlet exhibited an antique onyx ſeal, found 1760, near Sandal Caſtle in Yorkſhire, exhibiting a ſoldier with a helmet and lance leading a horſe. Round the gold rim in which it is ſet, this monkiſh inſcription,

✠ MANTICH MANTITVR IANVA NOSTUR AQVS.

See Pl. XXX. fig. 1.

Fig. 4. 5. are ſides of an antient dye found at Sutton at Hone near Dartford in Kent, belonging formerly to the Knights Templars, but whether of their time is uncertain. It ſeemed a jaſper uncommonly large, two-tenths of an inch ſquare, the angles rounded off, the notches filled up with white.

In new paving the hall of the Middle Temple in London about forty years ago was taken up a ſilver gilt enameled box containing near one hundred pair of ſmall ivory dice, ſcarce more than two-thirds of the modern ſize.

Feb. 10, 1763.

W. Hanbury, Eſq. exhibited an antient deed on parchment written in a large fair hand and well preſerved, being a deed of confirmation from Willielmus le Halbinge of a certain quantity of land at Bunſtide in Cheilmers, to Philip de Cheilmers, the

which Philip de Beaumains in a ſuit brought in the Court of King's Bench made good againſt the canons of Sulebi, to be held by him and his heirs on payment of a rent charge of two pence on the feaſt of Pentecoſt, yearly, in lieu of all ſervice, the ſaid Philip having paid down in hand the ſum of ten ſhillings as a conſideration for the ſame. Several witneſſes are named in the deed, and there was a ſeal appendant to a parchment label ſuppoſed to be defaced, a piece of linen having been ſewed round it in order to keep the wax together. Mr. Hanbury was of opinion, from a word uſed in the body of the deed, that it was written about 1100, or in the time of Henry I.

The Preſident, lord Willoughby, exhibited ſeveral Roman denarii and other coins, ſelected from a very conſiderable number lately found near Carliſle, on making the new military way from thence to Newcaſtle. They are ſo far remarkable and curious as they conſiſt of different reverſes, are in fine preſervation and almoſt as fair and ſharp as when they came from the mint. 1 Nero gold. 1 Nero ſilver. 1 Galba. 1 Otho. 2 Vitellius. 8 Veſpaſian. 11 Domitian. 3 Nerva. 19 Trajan. 12 Hadrian. 1 Sabina. 1 Julia Titi filia. 1 Fauſtina. 1 Ælius. 1 Nerva, middle braſs; Rev. two horſes diſcharged from a carriage; *Vehiculatione Italiæ remiſſa.*

Dec. 1, 1763.

Mr. Aſtle preſented an impreſſion of the ſeal now in uſe in the court of the receipt of the Exchequer otherwiſe called the Tally-court for ſealing indentures for weights and meaſures. It is of ſilver and weighs about an ounce. It is inſcribed

Sigillum Officii Receptae Scaccarii Regis in Anglia,

and is deemed the ſame that was in uſe in the time of Henry I. The two keys, one on each ſide of the king's head, are exact repreſentations of the original keys to the locks of the weights and meaſures. They are twelve inches long, and are ſaid to be

be the very keys made in the above king's reign, and ſtill in uſe. See plate XXX. fig. 3.

Feb. 9, 1764.

At the Grove the ſeat of Mr. Seare, at Tring in Hertfordſhire, about 1763, labourers employed in ſinking a ditch in a level field of ſtrong hard clayey gravel, found at ſeven feet depth a human ſcull, and proceeding with great caution in moving the ſoil, the reſt of the ſkeleton of common ſize was found laid at its length with the legs and arms extended. Between the legs were ſome flint arrow heads, and at the feet ſome ſmall ſlender ſtones poliſhed, and of a greeniſh caſt; convex on one ſide, and concave on the other; the larger were four inches long and one broad, the ſmaller not quite four inches long, nor one inch broad, ſomewhat narrower in the middle, with two holes at both ends, and a ſmall round inſtrument near two inches diameter, perforated in the center with a hole three-fourths of an inch wide, and two deep grooves in the edges, and four holes near together, two communicating with each other, and capable of admitting a large packthread. It is of a jetty gloſſy ſubſtance. Something which immediately fell to pieces was ſuppoſed an earthen veſſel. On the right ſide of the ſkeleton was an urn of brown earth containing about a quart of black aſhes, ſuch as burnt ſtraw makes, but nothing was found amongſt them. The urn fell to pieces on handling. Over this place ran an old hedge, which appears in ſurveys about one hundred years old, but had been lately cut down. Within a mile and a half of the grove are very conſiderable remains of earth works. See Pl. XXX. fig. 6.

Feb. 16, 1764.

Mr. Jeans, introduced by Mr. Da Coſta, exhibited an old ivory comb eight inches long and one and a quarter deep, dug up 1761, nineteen feet below the preſent ſurface of Skipraw-ſtreet in

Aberdeen, and ſuppoſed to have lain there ever ſince Edward III. king of England burnt and ruined that city, becauſe its inhabitants ſhook off his yoke, and maſſacred his garriſon. In digging to this depth Mr. Jeans cut through three paved ſtreets below the preſent, and on the ſpot where the comb was taken up were all the marks of fire, and ſome iron utenſils lying on a plain ground-floor.

Dean Milles ſhewed a ſeal ring found in an old houſe in *Exeter*, made of what is vulgarly called *ochimy*, or rather *alchymy*, and only remarkable for its thickneſs, and for the whiſtle on one ſide, which was uſeful in calling ſervants before the uſe of bells.

James Petit Andrews, Eſq. exhibited ſeven coins of Anglo-Saxon kings in fine preſervation, found July 1762, under a ſkull in the church-yard of *Kintbury*, Berks, about five miles from Newberry. With thoſe were found about forty other Saxon coins, and among them ſome of Athelſtan. Thoſe exhibited conſiſted of two of Edred, four of Edwin. One of Edmund, one of Edward the Confeſſor, and one of Harold, were alſo lately found at Peterborough.

EA·DRED REX I +
A
ÐEODM.

Rev. +++
AERM

EADRED RE++
°
°°
LANO

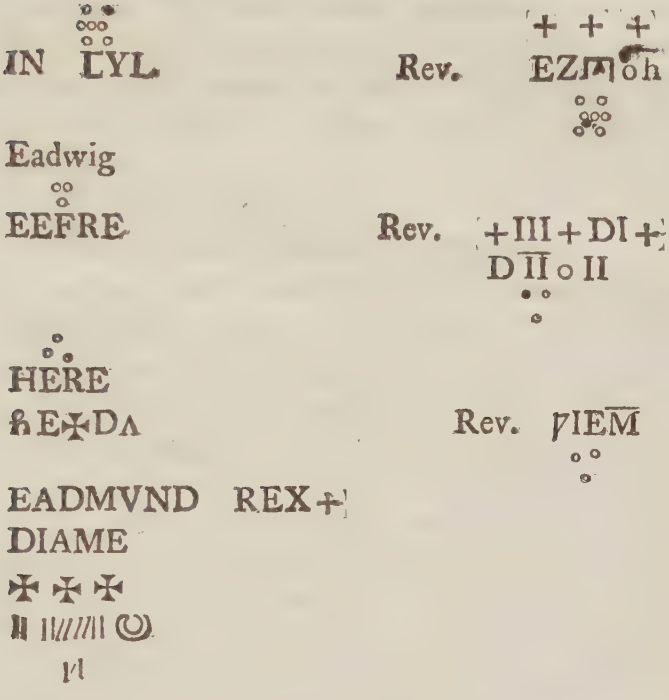
Rev. +++
EBETO
°
°°

EADVVIL RE++
BALD
BDA
EADƿIL REX I ✠

Rev. +—+
ƿIHE
°°
°

Within the inner circle under the I in *Eadwig* is this letter H.

IN



Mr. Berch, member of the council in chancery to the king of Sweden, and honorary member of their ſociety, in a treatiſe in the Swediſh language on the antient manners of the people of Sweden, beginning with their method of building, proceeds in the 13th chapter to deſcribe their habits. The dreſs of the oldeſt inhabitants of Scandinavia differed but very little from that of the preſent Greenlandmen and ſavages of America, the ſkins of beaſts taken in hunting, or, for want of theſe, matting as ſtill uſed in Ruſſia, and from this ſubſidiary contrivance the ſuggeſtion and work of neceſſity he derives the invention of weaving among them. From that invention the materials as well as the faſhion of dreſs received a very conſiderable improvement. Women wore next the body under the fells a kind of linen garment without ſleeves edged with red. Afterward

ſleeves

ſleeves plaited and buttoned round the wriſt came in faſhion. When the weaving of woollen ſtuffs was introduced, doublets with petticoats faſtened to them, or rather a jacket and petticoat of one piece were worn, ſhort at firſt, and lengthened by degrees. Much the ſame kind of dreſs is ſtill to be ſeen among the Laplanders, Ruſſian, and other northern people: ſtockings were cut out of thoſe webbs and fitted to the legs, and leather ſhoes with picked toes. The price of workmanſhip of a pair of women's ſhoes was then as now double that of the men's. The ſhoes were at firſt tied with leather thongs, afterwards with broad bands in form of roſes, and theſe at length gave place to ſmall buckles, which together with the ſhort upper leathers to the ſhoes produced the deſired effect of exhibiting a ſeemingly pretty and Chineſe-like foot. Muffs were worn before mittens and gloves: afterwards theſe became expenſively ornamented with gold or ſilver embroidery. They wore their hair, which was uſually of a yellow or reddiſh caſt and long, tied up in a roll behind, faſtened with a pin; over this, to keep the head warm or the hair clean, was ſometimes worn a piked cap. It is remarkable that in the old tombs, where female ornaments were uſually depoſited with the corpſe, a whited grey hair-powder with razor and twezes to adjuſt the eyebrows and forehead have been found. In the ſame repoſitories necklaces of coral, amber beads and pearl are alſo to be met with; the pearls he imagines were brought into the northern parts by the Cimbri, among the variety of other ſpoils taken by them from the Romans. They had moreover necklaces of gold and ſilver, with ear-rings and rings for the finger of gold, alſo bracelets of the ſame metals for binding the plaits and folds of the ſleeve cloſe to the wriſt, and ſome for the fleſhy part of the arm of different forms with medals often appendant to them. It is probable that women wore rings round their legs, alſo ornamented with gold and ſilver

toys.

toys. In France ſkeletons have been found with copper rings round their necks as well as their arms and legs, and as a ſimilitude of manners was adopted among the old Celtic nations, it is probable a ſimilitude in dreſs took place alſo. When theſe modes of dreſs were introduced or laid aſide it may not be poſſible to determine with preciſion: it is ſufficient to know that they are of very antient uſage.

It is not ſo difficult to aſcertain the particular modes and their periods in the following centuries. The dreſſes became rich and expenſive, conſiſting frequently of gold and ſilver, ſtuffs and other coſtly articles, ſuch as lace, &c. They wore double veſts, the petticoats increaſed in number and length, and over the whole a looſe white covering like a mantle or apron. In the thirteenth century they had their holiday or church dreſs, and a dreſs for common days, alſo a morning dreſs. They painted with red and white, and uſed diſtilled and other waters for beautifying the ſkin. They wore rich fillets ornamented with pearls round their heads. The hair in the fifteenth century was formed into a coil on the back of the head, and ſecured with a gold pin, and often with a circle of gold or ſilver, of engraved or emboſſed work, to which they gave the name of a crown, and of theſe ſome wealthy families had more than one. Lady Gydha, wife of lord Carlos Ulffon, had a crown of this kind of ſo conſiderable value, that when after her death it was ſent to Rome, her ſiſter-in-law lady Catharina and her mother the lady Brigitta, lived a whole year on the money it ſold for. In the laſt will of a perſon made in 1409, mention is made of more crowns than one for change in a family.

Ear-rings, with ſeveral drops or pendants to them, have been in faſhion in Sweden for upwards of 200 years, not to

mention the old Grecian medals and engraved gems which women uſually wore in their ears.

Golden chains and necklaces hanging down in many rows on the breaſt, with jewels or medals appendant to them, were now in faſhion. The Romans of old hung bullas of gold, and afterwards ſcarabei and other amulets round their childrens necks. The Chriſtians, particularly thoſe of the Greek church, would needs have ſtronger preſervatives than theſe for ſoul and body, and wore round their necks and garments phylacteries and encolpia: as alſo reliquaries in form of croſſes: a gilt croſs, with reliques in it, is mentioned as a bequeſt, among other parts of dreſs, in the laſt will of a lady, dated 1449. After the reformation, they were formed into the ſhape of an heart, and filled only with perfumes. The richer gentry, however, retained the form of the croſs, as a pretended remnant of devotion, or more properly as a gaudy and coſtly trinket and ornament to ſet off their charms. The outward garments and linen were faſtened with ſmall buckles. The number of finger rings increaſed, and theſe ſet with a variety of precious ſtones; but no mention is made of diamonds in the fifteenth century. The armillæ, whoſe original uſe was to bind the folds and plaits of the ſhirt and waiſtcoat ſleeves cloſe to the wriſt, were now converted into mere ornaments to grace a fair arm, and underwent a variety of changes in their form and materials, as well as the jewels with which they were adorned.

Girdles, which at firſt were only uſed to bind the garments round the waiſt, were now applied to confine the ſhape, and were faſtened by buckles, ſome of ſolid ſilver, whoſe weight was not leſs than five ounces. A ſtill larger one is preſerved, which was worn 1609, with a medal of Charles IX. appendant to it, which at that time Mr. Berch thinks muſt have been an ornament equal to the women's watches worn at preſent.

There was another appendage to full dreſs, which Mr. Berch calls a *ſido-braſk*, and ſuppoſes to have comprehended ſmall female trinkets, ſuch as ſciſſars, needles, bodkins, gold chains, and other little articles neceſſary for ladies work. Etwees have ſince taken place of theſe, and ſometimes a work bag hanging from the arm.

Mr. Jenkins, in a letter from Rome, dated March 30, 1763, gave an account of diſcoveries made in the courſe of that winter: viz. Out of the Porta Maggiore three ſepulchral urns, one of them ornamented in a good ſtyle. About a quarter of a mile from the tomb of Metellus, near the Appian way, in a room lined with marble, which, from its appearance, ſeems to have been a bath, two buſts of the natural ſize, of excellent workmanſhip and in high preſervation, one repreſenting the emperor Commodus, the other ſome perſon in a conſular habit, as yet unknown [*a*]. Near this place have likewiſe been found two ſarcophagi, one inſcribed for a child of ſix years old, ornamented with boys, or genii, forging armour, the other channelled or fluted, and the lid charged with figures returning from the chace [*b*]. At the foot of Monte Porzia, near Freſcati, has been found a groupe repreſenting Venus and Cupid, of the natural ſize, the property of the Borgheſe family, who did not permit it to be ſeen. In the villa Adriana, near Tivoli, half a Coloſſal head, believed to be Juno, of moſt exquiſite ſculpture: the head of a young fawn, of a good time, the torſo, with thighs of a youth, which by part of a Caduceus remaining, ſeems to have repreſented Mercury: a terminus of firſt rate ſculpture, having wings like a Cupid or genius, with the ſkin of a goat thrown over part of the body; the pro-

[*a*] Two of theſe urns, and the two buſts, were purchaſed for Lyde Browne, Eſq.

[*b*] This was purchaſed for the earl of Beſborough.

portions were a mixture of the maſculine and feminine, with the parts of generation of the former, but without a head. There was alſo lately found (but where is not known) a ſitting figure of Euripides, in alto relievo, with the titles of all his tragedies engraved on the ground of the marble [c]; likewiſe a very large marble vaſe, with the labours of Hercules on its borders, of very excellent ſculpture.

In a ſucceeding letter, dated April 22, 1763, Mr. Jenkins mentions the diſcovery at Paleſtrina of a moſt elegant ſtatue of a Muſe, a little leſs than life, and a very beautiful head, ſuppoſed by the character to have been of Paris, with a helmet on [d].

May 22, 1764.

Mr. Henry Baker exhibited a walking cane, which appeared to have belonged to Pope Urban VIII. from the Barbarini arms and other ornamental deſigns engraved on it. It conſiſted of ſeven entire joints of bamboo, with two half joints for the head, which was of ſilver, round and plain, and the ferril of ſilver alſo, engraved in running flowers, grapes, and birds. The ſeveral joints were decorated and ornamented with ſilver rings, chaſed with foliage, flowers, beaſts, &c. The whole length of the cane was 4 feet 1 inch. The exquiſite workmanſhip, time, and attention beſtowed on a material far from uncommon even at that time of day, render it a valuable and extraordinary curioſity, and worthy to be recorded in theſe memoirs. Every joint was ſo richly ornamented with human figures, capital buildings, proſpects, &c. ſo finely engraved, and the keeping and diſtance ſo juſtly preſerved, that each exhibited a moſt pleaſing picture. Add to this the circular ſurface, ſcarcely

[c] Of this ſee Winkleman, Mon. Ant. II. p. 224, fol. 168. Twenty-ſix of theſe titles are publiſhed by Ficoroni, Mem. di Labico, p. 104, without ſaying whence he had them. The other eleven were a diſtinct fragment, but it is eaſy to ſee that it belonged to this ſtatue.

[d] Theſe two laſt were purchaſed for Mr. Browne.

an

an inch in diameter, and the difficulty of guiding the graver on it, and the minute exactneſs, expreſſion, and ſpirit in the ſeveral figures. It was ſold at the ſale of Mr. Baker's foſſils and curioſities, March 13, 1775.

The firſt or upper joint exhibited between the borders or circles of vine foliage with buds, the Virgin and Chriſt, with the Apoſtles, and above them Cherubs; in his right hand the labarum, his left extended in a poſture of benediction; under his feet in capitals *Salvator Mundi.* Between the two principal figures is ſeen a principal ſtreet of buildings in Rome, including the dome of St. Peter's: on the other ſide is ſeen a piazza, and at a diſtance the pope's palace: in the foreground perſons, carriages, and trees.

In the ſecond joint is given a large view of the Weſt front of St. Peter's church, as ſuppoſed in the time of Urban VIII. for it has neither the circular colonnade, the obeliſk, nor fountain in front. It has two lofty ſquare towers, with pediments and pyramidal tops in front on the North and South ſides of the preſent remaining towers with cupolas, which terminate the Weſtern extremities of the front. On the pediment is inſcribed in capitals PAULUS V BURGHESIUS R. A choir of angels in the clouds. Beſide the church a view of the city and capital buildings, with a grand piazza in front, an obeliſk and fountain, and in the centre above the obeliſk the Barbarini arms, 3 bees, with the papal crown and croſs keys. In the lower diviſion of the ſame joint, two capital figures of St. Peter and St. Paul; the former holding the keys and book, the latter reſts an open book in the left hand on the ſword in the right. Between them in front is a view of a church, with another large building and diſtant proſpect of trees, buildings, and hills. Behind them a near view of another church, ſuppoſed St. Paul's, about five miles out of the city, and another building, with a diſtant view

of

of part of the city. St. Peter's name is improperly placed over the head of St. Paul, under whoſe feet is his own name; or it may have been intended to expreſs the pre-eminence of the former.

The third joint exhibits a view of the Weſt front of the churches of St. Andrew and St. James, and between them a diſtant view of the ſea, and in the fore ground a caſtle and trees interſperſed. Between them, on the other ſide, a near view of ſome public ſtreets and buildings at a diſtance. Under theſe two churches are the reſpective apoſtles to whom they are dedicated, with their proper ſymbols and books, and their names over their heads.

The fourth joint has a view of St. John of Lateran and St. Thomas's church, the obeliſk before the former, the baſe and pedeſtal ornamented with figures; on the right hand of it a diſtant view through a narrow opening of a gateway, and a road leading up to it, with other buildings, and on the other ſide a confined view of a ſtreet. Below the church are the two apoſtles, with their names and ſymbols, with landſcapes and buildings.

In the fifth joint, is the church of the Twelve Apoſtles, with the words S. APOSTOLI under it, and near it a large ſtreet, with ſeveral capital buildings, &c. and below two apoſtles without name; a knotted club in the hand of one, and a ſtaff in that of the other. Between them a view of trees, buildings, and hills.

The ſixth joint gives a near view of the churches of St. Bartholomew and St. Matthew; between them a perſpective view of a ſtreet, and on the other of the river. Under them their patron apoſtles with their ſymbols. St. Bartholomew has a faulchion in his right hand, reſting againſt his breaſt and ſhoulder; and in his left, between his two firſt fingers, a ſmall

ſmall dagger. St. Matthew only a book, but an angel converſing with him from the clouds. The back and fore ground diverſified as the reſt with bridges and landſcapes.

The ſeventh or laſt joint exhibits the figures of St. Simon and St. Jude, with their names over them. St. Jude is ſtyled St. TADEUS, and holds a carpenter's ſquare in his right hand, and in his left a book. St. Simon has in his left hand a ſaw, and in his right hand a book; between them a view of trees and buildings with towers, and on the other ſide fortifications and veſſels at ſea. Below theſe is repreſented St. Matthias, with his name under him, a halbert in his right hand, and a book in his left; behind him trees, and before him the church of St. Mary Maggiore, where he is buried; and behind him the city and landſcape.

The caſe to this curious cane conſiſted of one entire joint of bamboo.

Jan. 31, 1765.

Mr. Aſtle communicated the original order of council for the encouragement of Sir Edward Deering in the ſtudy of antiquities.

"Whereas the ſtudy of antiquities is by good experience ſaid to be very ſerviceable and uſeful to the general good of the ſtate and commonwealth; and foraſmuch as Sir Edward Deering, Knight and Baronet, is ſtudious in that kind, and that we have good hope and aſſurance that, by his endeavours therein, he may be the more enabled to promote the publique ſervice, we have for his further encouragement herein, and by theis preſents doe will, and commande all you whom it may concerne, that forthwith, upon the ſight hereof, you readily ſhewe unto him all or any records, rolles, regiſters, or bookes within the ſeveral offices, and that you ſuffer him to take any notes, or tranſcribe them, which he ſhall chooſe, the which ſearche

ſearche and tranſcripts ſhall by him be made and taken without any fee or fees to be by him paid unto you, or any of you. Thereof faile you not, as you will anſwere the contrary at your perills. Given at Whitehall this fouerth of Aprill, 1627.

G. Cant.

Buckingham. Montgomery. Tho. Coventrye, C. R.
Pembroke. Marleburg.
Jul. Ceſar. J. L. Worceſter.

To all officers that are keepers of records within the Tower of London, the cities of London and Weſtminſter, or elſewhere, within the realme of England.

Provided that Sir Edward Deringe by vertue thereof ſhall not make ſearche in anye record ſince 1 E. VI. which concerned receipts and iſſues of his majeſty's revenues, within the ſeveral offices of Sir Robert Pye, or Sir Edward Wardour, nor ſhall ſearch the records of attainder of treaſon and felony in the King's Bench, without leave granted from the Lord Chief Juſtice, or Mr. Attorney General.

Mr. Aſtle alſo gave an account of an antient MS. regiſter of the priory of Worceſter, now in his poſſeſſion, intituled, "Liber irrotulatorius & conſuetudinarius prioratus B. Marie de "Wigorn," containing, among other curious particulars, the following article.

Articuli hundredorum, or articles of enquiry ſent by William the Conqueror to the ſheriffs and *Prepoſiti hundredorum*, previous to his making the great ſurvey of England,; alſo ſeveral of the common cuſtoms of villeins, the *novæ proviſiones Anglie* in the reign of Henry III. with many other things of a public nature.

Further

Further particulars from Captain Hay *of the diſcoveries at* Brecknock, *in a Letter to* Thomas Jones, *Eſq. F. A. S.*

Read November 25, 1784.

IN further clearing the ground about the hypocauſt a coin of mixed metal, in the utmoſt preſervation, has been found. On the obverſe is a buſt laureate, inſcribed CONSTANTIVS, P. R. AVG. On the reverſe a whole length figure, with a mantle falling over his breaſt and left arm, in which hand he holds a terreſtrial globe, with a meridian plainly marked. In his right hand a trident without a handle. Under him PTR. a T on the right, and an F on the left, and round him SOLI INVICTO COMITI. About 400 yards north from the hypocauſt were found ſome human bones with ſigns of fire on them, intermixt with earth, in a rude ſtone coffin, nineteen inches by thirteen, and covered with ſtones; alſo fragments of an urn, three inches diameter, and two inches and a half high, made of coarſe earth. Some broken pieces of red brick proper for conveying the water from the bath, were taken up at the South angle thereof. There were likewiſe found the head of an iron launce or dart, four inches and a half long, and a ſpear one inch and a quarter in the broadeſt part.

The Hon. Daines Barrington *communicated the following obſervations by him on the* Grey Weathers *in* Berkſhire, *and the Crypts in* Canterbury *Cathedral.*

Read March 17, 1785.

IN the vale of Whitehorſe, and near the particular hill from which this vale is ſo called, are ſeveral immenſe ſtones, which are diſperſed in no apparent order. It naturally ſuggeſts itſelf to an antiquary, that as the fields in which they lye, produce neither this particular ſtone, or indeed of any other kind (though often dug to a conſiderable depth), that they muſt have been brought to their preſent ſituation with great expence and labour, for ſome druidical purpoſes.

Under this idea I had long acquieſced, till during the laſt autumn, I paid more particular attention to theſe huge and detached maſſes, the ſituation of which appeared then to be the effect of mere accident, though they had been moſt clearly removed from the ſoil or bed in which they originally lay.

When theſe ſtones have been blown by gun-powder, they are of a whitiſh caſt on the inſide, but the outer covering is grey, whence they probably have received their moſt common name of *Grey Weathers* [*a*]. They are ſometimes however called alſo *Sarſden* ſtones, though I never could hear of any ſuch place in the neighbourhood. They are found in great profuſion on ſome parts of the Berkſhire and Wiltſhire downs, and more particularly ſo in a valley near lord Craven's hunting-ſeat of Aſhdown Park, which is about two miles diſtant from the paſ-

[*a*] Some have ſuppoſed them to be thus called from their ſomewhat reſembling a grey-wether (or ſheep) when ſeen at a great diſtance.

tures

tures in Compton pariſh, to which I would refer thoſe who may have curioſity to examine them.

The ſoil in theſe paſtures or *marſhes* is a deep clay, under which it is ſo difficult to find any materials for mending the roads, that the inhabitants are obliged to fetch chalk ſtones from the downs for this purpoſe, to avoid the expence of which they ſometimes blaſt theſe enormous Grey Weathers, at leaſt, for mending gateways. The tops of moſt of theſe are not more than an inch or two above the ſurface, but they are buried two or three feet under ground, ſo that when removed by blaſting a very conſiderable bed or cavity is left. Others again are buried a few inches under the ſoil, in which caſe they may be diſcovered by the graſs not looking ſo well as in other parts of the field.

From the circumſtances which I have above ſtated it ſeems very clear that theſe immenſe maſſes were never brought to their preſent ſituations by the inhabitants of this iſland in any age or period, for they muſt have been removed from the valley near lord Craven's at two or three miles diſtance, to which attempt I ſhould ſcarcely conceive that the engineers of the preſent times are equal.

If however ſuch labour and expence ſhould not have deterred, yet theſe difficulties muſt have been ſurmounted for ſome great object in contemplation, as the forming a Druidical temple; but the number of theſe Grey Weathers is much greater than could be neceſſary for any ſuch purpoſe, nor are they dropt in any kind of order or figure. None of them moreover are more than two or three inches above the ſurface, whilſt ſome are buried as deep under it.

Having thus endeavoured to prove that theſe large maſſes of ſtone could never have been brought to their preſent ſituations by the inhabitants of this iſland, I cannot but ſuppoſe that they

were thrown to ſuch a diſtance by an exploſion accompanying an earthquake, when moſt of them fell in the valley ſouth of Aſhdown Park, but others were carried to ſeveral of the adjacent villages in the vale of Whitehorſe, and more particularly to the feeding ground in Compton pariſh, which I have already had occaſion to mention.

But as theſe fragments of rock are chiefly to be ſeen in a bye road through fields between the villages of Shrivenham and Compton [*b*], which poſſibly hath never, nor may be travelled by any of the Society, I ſhould not have troubled them with this my conjecture, did it not (if well founded) remove a moſt material part of the difficulties which attend that moſt ſtupendous work of rude art, *Stonehenge*.

It is well known that there are no ſimilar quarries in the neighbourhood to furniſh materials for this moſt ſingular ſtructure, and engineers have long (but unſucceſsfully) attempted to account for ſuch large ſlabs having been carried to their preſent ſituation from ſo conſiderable a diſtance [*c*].

The exploſion of an earthquake again ſeems to be the moſt probable ſolution to this difficulty, and when theſe immenſe ſtones were thus found upon the ſpot, I muſt own that it ſtill required moſt extraordinary mechanical abilities in the uncivilized inhabitants of this iſland to have arranged them in their preſent order.

[*b*] The laſt paſture but one before you come to Compton-lane from Shrivenham.

[*c*] The greateſt work of this kind ſeems to have been the removal of the rock in Ruſſia which ſerves as a pedeſtal to the ſtatue of Peter the Great. The engineer upon this occaſion was the Count de Carburi, who took the advantage of a froſt, and with the aſſiſtance of four hundred labourers brought it to Peterſburgh. For an account of the ingenious expedients which were alſo uſed, ſee the Count's own relation, illuſtrated by engravings.

I proceed to ſome further obſervations relative to antiquities which I happened to make during the laſt ſummer, and which are ſo miſcellaneous as to need many apologies for not being laid before the Society in better order.

It is well known that there is an under-ground church at Canterbury, which is ſtill made uſe of by the deſcendants of Walloon and French refugees, ſome few of which eſtabliſhed themſelves in England ſo early as the reign of Edward the Sixth, but the greater part during the reign of queen Elizabeth [*d*]. I happened to be preſent whilſt the ſervice was read in the French language, but though the day was bright, it was difficult to diſtinguiſh the countenances of thoſe who were preſent. If this dark crypt (or *croft* as it is ſometimes called) was the only inſtance of ſuch a ſubterraneous church, it would not be eaſy to form any conjecture with regard to the inducement for making ſo expenſive a ſtructure (it being arched entirely over), whilſt at the ſame time it was ſo highly inconvenient for the celebration of divine ſervice, by its darkneſs.

It will undoubtedly occur to the Society, that there was a ſimilar crypt under old Paul's, which ſerved as a pariſh church to the ſtationers and other inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the cathedral, and which was called *St. Faith's under Paul's* [*e*].

A third inſtance of ſuch a ſubterraneous church is to be found in the cathedral at Glaſgow.

Now it ſo happens that each of theſe crypts are ſituated under the choirs [*f*] of the reſpective cathedrals, which particular poſition cannot probably be merely accidental.

If it be aſked then, why all theſe under-crofts ſhould have been ſo placed, my anſwer is, that I conceive it was to make

[*d*] Goſtling's Canterbury. They are now much reduced in numbers by removals to Spittal Fields.

[*e*] Stowe, B. iii. p.145. ed. 1722.

[*f*] It is many years ſince I ſaw the cathedral at Glaſgow, but I am pretty confident that the crypt is ſo ſituated.

the

the choir of the cathedral more dry, than it would have otherwiſe been, if built upon the ground inſtead of arches.

It is well known that the choir of a cathedral is the part of the church which is moſt frequently uſed, and in the times of popery, during the night as well as the day. To this reaſon for the great expence of arches for a foundation, it may be perhaps added, that the voice becomes much more audible as we find from daily experience.

If I am right therefore in this conjecture, theſe vaults were originally built for theſe purpoſes merely, but afterwards according to convenience, might be applied to burials, or the celebration of divine ſervice.

D. B.

A Letter

A Letter to General Melville *from Dr.* Brownlie, *lately a Phyſician at* Oporto, *upon an Inſcription found at* Braga *in* Portugal.

Read April 7, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

UNDERSTANDING you are one of the reſpectable Society of Antiquarians, I beg leave to ſend you the inſcription of a pillar at Braga in Portugal, which is explained, but not ſatisfactorily, by a clergyman who wrote the Antiquities of that city in Portugueze and Latin. With the inſcription are copies of what he ſays relating to it in the latter language. Your laying them before the learned body, and acquainting me with their opinion who was the perſon the pillar is dedicated to, will give me pleaſure, and add to the obligations I owe you.

I am reſpectfully,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient

humble Servant

JOHN BROWNLIE.

London, Feb. 26, 1785.

General Melville.

An

An inſcription on a pillar at Braga *in* Portugal, *extracted from a book entitled* De Antiquitatibus Conventus Bracarauguſtani auctore Hieronymo Contador de Argote.

" Relata ex Dione excerpſimus, nec cætera Cæſaris acta in provincia Hiſpaniæ ulterioris adminiſtranda apud ſcriptores leguntur. Acta Cæſaris tempore belli civilis in Hiſpania ulteriore paragraphis antecedentibus retulerat auctor. Verum mihi certum eſt Cæſarem in alterutra harum expeditionum Braccaros & magnam Galleciæ partem ſubjugaſſe. Certe Bracaræ extat columna illo in tempore his notis inciſa :

C. CAESARI AVG. F.
PONTIF. AVGVRI
CALLECIA.

Quas cum noſtro Barrio ſic libet interpretari : *Callecia monumentum hoc Caio Cæſari Auguſto Felici, Pontifici Auguri dedicavit.* Hunc autem Caium Cæſarem alium non eſſe ab eo de quo nunc loquimur validiſſimis rationibus comprobatur. Cum enim inſcriptio careat titulis tribui ſolitis imperatoribus, de Caio Cæſare non quidem Auguſto & imperatore ſed de prætore videtur agere. Nec eſtimet aliquis cippum illum dedicatum fuiſſe Caio Cæſari Auguſti nepoti, quem conſtat anno quarto decimo ætatis ſuæ conſulem eſſe deſignatum, altero vero & vigeſimo ætatis juventutis flore in Lycia diem obüſſe, nunquam vero pontificalis aut auguralis munere perfunctum. Equidem ſi Auguſti nepoti monumentum eſſet nuncupatum, principem juventutis eum nominaret, quo titulo ipſe & frater ejus Lucius in omen futuri imperii ab avunculo donati erant."

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Boys *to Dr. Simmons.*

Read November 19, 1786.

IN making a vault ſome years ago in Minſtre church yard, at the depth of ſeven feet the maſon came to bones of a human ſkeleton, which he and his men ſuppoſed of larger ſize than common, and as ſuch repreſented in the newſpapers, but no meaſures were taken. In 1786, on digging cloſe by the vault at the ſame depth, the ſame man found a ſcull which he had no doubt belonged to the former body, but he neither meaſured nor preſerved it. Cloſe by the ſcull was a glaſs veſſel like a bell. Two elevated ribs croſs one another at the bottom of the glaſs within ſide, at right angles, and terminate at the rim. In each of the four quarterings are two elevated ribs running from the rims, to whch the glaſs tucks in to form the bottom. It handles well as a drinking glaſs, and puts me in mind of the beer-drinking Germans (Saxons or Danes) who expected much gratification in the hall of Odin; though their liquor was to be quaffed in human ſculls; but glaſs may have ſucceeded as an improvement."

Jan. 12, 1786.

Lord Arden exhibited a gold ring of a ſingular form, which was lately found in ploughing a field at Silcheſter. The hoop is formed into ſeveral ſquares, in the uppermoſt of which is a head, rudely engraved, with the letters VENUS, in Roman capitals round it, and in the ſeveral other compartments the following inſcription:

SE | NI | CIA | NE | VI | VA | S | II | NDE.

January 19, 1786.

Mr. Brereton exhibited two copper Celts, found in Montgomery and Flintſhires, not remarkable for ſhape and ſize; but only becauſe inſtances of ſuch inſtruments found in Wales are extremely rare. The ſmaller found in Montgomeryſhire has ſeemingly an impreſſion on it.

December 31, 1786.

The Hon. Daines Barrington communicated from Mr. Bowle the impreſſion of a leaden ſeal found near Warminſter, with the arms of England circumſcribed with the following inſcription:

S'. SVBa' PANNOR' IN aOm' WILTaa.

The ſeal was probably made in conſequence of an act of Richard III. cap. 8. directing that the treaſurer of England ſhall order ſeals of lead for each county, having the King's arms on one ſide, and the name of the county on the other; which are alſo to be kept in the cuſtody of *expert clothiers*, in order to ſtamp authenticity on the woollen cloths. Mr. Barrington reads it

Sigillum ſubconſervatorum [*a*] *pannorum in comitatu Wiltes.*

and conſiders it as the ſeal of the Alnegers appointed by that ſtatute. See Pl. XXX. fig. 7.

[*a*] It may be *ſubcuſtodum.*

Fig.

Fig. 1. Pl. XXXI. exhibits the exact repreſentation and dimenſions of an ancient cradle, which formerly belonged to the great and brave but unfortunate Charles Neville, the laſt earl of Weſtmoreland, of Brancepeth caſtle, who was attainted for being concerned along with Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, and others, in an inſurrection againſt queen Elizabeth in the North, 1570, and fled beyond the ſeas, where he lived long after, and died very poor, and in a miſerable eſtate.

This cradle is of oak, and about the ſize of our modern ones. It has been ornamented with Moſaic work gilt. On the ſides and at the bottom of the head are repreſented in circles, on a red ground, the bull's head, the *Neville* creſt, and the lion rampant, that of *Mowbray*; this nobleman's lady being a *Howard*, and allied to the *Mowbrays*. At the top of the head, both before and behind, and alſo at the foot, are painted the arms of the ſaid earl and his lady impaled; viz. quarterly 1 and 4 Gules a ſaltire Argent. *Neville*. 2. Gules in a border Azure 3 lions paſſant guardant O. *Holland* earl of *Kent*. 3. O frettè Gules in a dexter canton A a ſhip S. impaling quarterly 1. *Howard*, 2. *Brotherton*, 3. *Warren*, 4. *Mowbray*. Supporters a lion and bull. This lady was Anne daughter of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, ſiſter to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk. She had iſſue by the earl of Weſtmoreland only four daughters.

Catharine, married to Sir Thomas Grey of Chillingham, in the county of Northumberland, knight.

Eleanor died unmarried.

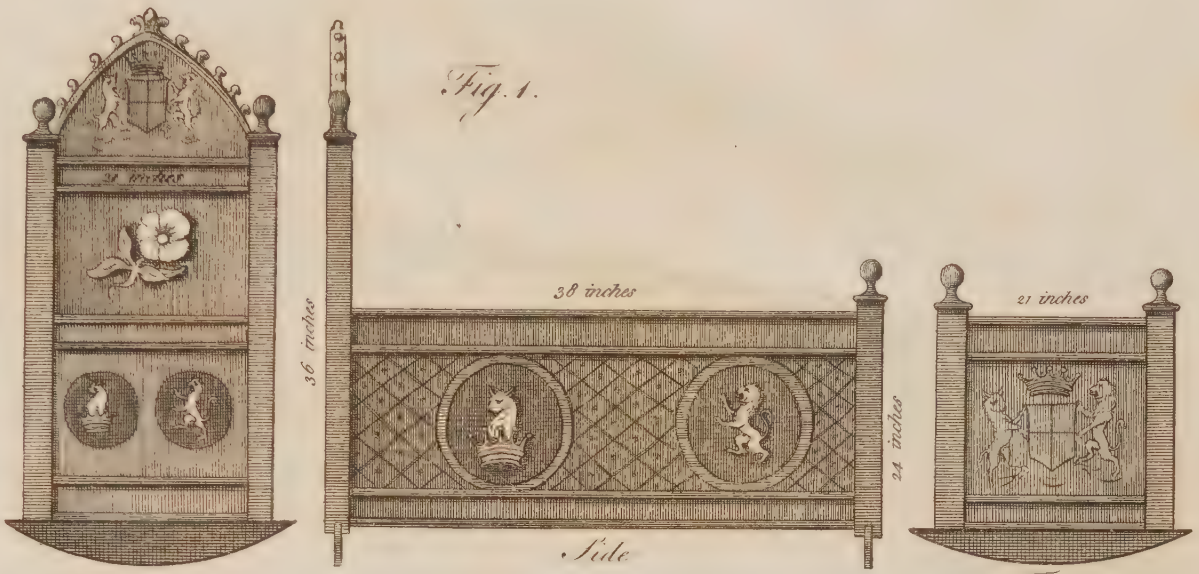
Margaret, married to Nicholas Pudſey, eſq.

Anne, married to David Ingleby, of Ripley, in the county of York, eſq.

On the back of the head, and on other parts, is painted the white roſe of the houſe of York, no doubt to denote the alliance and attachment of the Nevilles to that houſe.

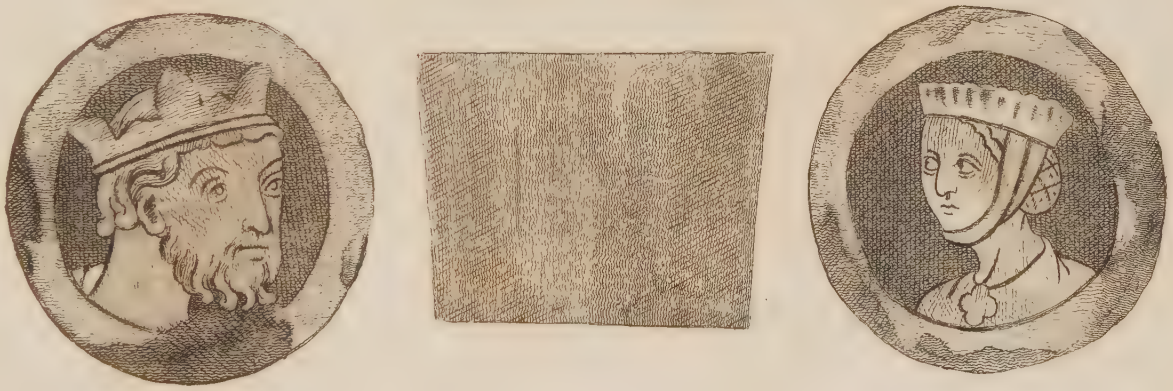
Fig. 2. Pl. XXXI. repreſents two pieces of red baked earth, the ſize of the originals, with a ſection thereof, found near *Chertſey* abbey, in Surrey, where they are ſuppoſed to have made part of the teſſelated pavement. They were exhibited by John Wightwick, Eſq. F. A. S. 1787, and copied by Mr. J. Saunders. The heads are very like thoſe in the antient pedigrees of our kings and queens, particularly in one in the poſſeſſion of Craven Ord, Eſq.

Fig. 1.



Back of the head. Side. Foot.

Fig. 2.



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ERRATA.

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10.	16.	*for* plan *read* place.
34.	10.	*for* extinguiſh *read* relinquiſh.
		note [t], *for* that extent, *read* great extent.
37.	15.	*dele* de,
186.	22.	*read* XV.
224.	4.	*read* New Foreſt.
	14.	*read* Subliaco.
251.	21.	*read* Tannah.
313.	13.	*read* She.

ERRATA in VOL. VII.

382.		*for* F. S. A. *read* F. R. S.
384.	17.	*for* Linguleſe *read* Singuleſe.
	25.	*for* Langari or Langarians, *read* Sangari or Sangarians.
385.	7.	*for* eſtan, *read* eſtau.
	19.	*dele* been.

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